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THE DOCTRINE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

ACCORDING TO FRANCIS DE VICTORIA, O.P.

PROLOGUE

"—It is, therefore, to be hoped—that the doctrines of Aquinas concerning the ruling of peoples and the laws which establish their relations with one another may be better known, since they contain the true foundations of that which is termed the "League of Nations." * These are the words of our most Holy Father, Pope Pius XI, in his encyclical *Studiorum Ducem*—of June 29, 1923.[1]

Now the celebrated Francis of Victoria was, in the 16th Century, not only a restorer of the study of St. Thomas both in Spain and beyond her borders, but he was in a special way a most faithful interpreter and propagator of the doctrines of the Angelic Doctor on questions which are to-day usually called international questions.

Certain pronouncements of recent Supreme Pontiffs have likewise been included in this paper and the author furthermore has in a few instances taken the liberty to deduce and modestly to propose certain conclusions of his own drawn from the doctrines set forth.

I. INTRODUCTION

A) Two questions of international law keenly discussed in the 16th Century.

* Translator's Note: The translation of this excerpt of the encyclical is taken from the English translation made by the Boston *Pilot*. (Aug. 4, 1923.)

1 *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis* (hereafter abbreviated: A. A. S.), vol. XV, 319.

a) The question of the Law of War. The first decade of the 16th Century was filled with wars most perilous to all Christendom. With the rise of Protestantism, intestine wars broke out in many regions of Europe. Charles V, Emperor of Spain, waged four wars with Francis I, King of France: the first, in the years 1521-1526; the second, 1527-1529; the third, 1533-1538; and the fourth 1542-1544. Then, as in any age, the longer the wars were protracted the more bitter they became. Indeed, they who were in reality the most dangerous enemies of Christianity at that time, taking advantage of the military turmoil of Christian Europe, were closing in on land and sea and the whole Christian west was gravely imperiled. I need only point out that in 1529, with a great part of the kingdom of Hungary subjected, these enemies under the leadership of Sultan Soliman were attacking Vienna, the West's outstanding bulwark against the Orient.

For this reason, then, among all international questions, those which concerned the Law of War were perhaps of greatest moment at that time.

b) Questions concerning the rights of the Indians. For the Spanish, however, who with the Portuguese were in those days more prosperous than the other nations of Europe, other questions of international law arose.

The New World, that is to say, America (or the West Indies as it was called in the 15th and several following centuries), was discovered during the latter part of the 15th Century and these regions granted to Spain. As a result many questions arose over the rights of the primitive Indian inhabitants and over a policy and method of dealing with them.

Some there were who asserted that the Spanish had the right to occupy these new lands and to subjugate their inhabitants not only through peaceful means but even by war. There were some who declared that this violent subjugation was, at the same time, the best means of Christianizing the Indians.

Outstanding among those who pursued this method of reasoning and, soon after the discovery of the New World, reduced these opinions to a certain doctrinal system was Juan Gines *Sepulveda* (1490-1572), a man of otherwise most estimable learning. In 1536 named by Charles V court chaplain and his-

toriographer and at the same time preceptor to the Infante Philip, Sepulveda expounded his doctrines in the work, *De iustis belli causis, sive Democrates altèr.* This work was never printed; on the contrary even the manuscript was lost.[2] However, the doctrines of this work of Sepulveda's are known to us through the works of others, to mention but one: "Apendice XXIII. Objections y respuestas relativas al Democrates alter."[3]

This line of thought and procedure as well as the excessive and extremely cruel abuses which crept into the New World with the occupation by the Spanish, were opposed by many missionaries with apostolic sincerity and fortitude. A description of the part they played would fill most glorious pages, particularly in a history of the Dominican family. However, even a brief resume of their deeds would exceed the restricted scope of this paper. The most zealous and most celebrated defender of the Indians, *Bartholomew de Las Casas,* had as early as 1510 been interested in this apostolic work by the Friars Preachers. From the year 1514 he became even more thoroughly aroused,[4] and finally in 1521 became himself a member of the Order.

Many public disputations or debates on the rights of the Indians were held in Spain; at Burgos, for instance, in 1511; at Barcelona in 1519 and 1529; and at Valladolid in 1543. These discussions were attended not only by the leading men of the kingdom of Spain, but very frequently by the Spanish king himself. At last in 1543, due to the efforts of Bartholomew de Las Casas, laws salutary to the Indians were passed, but in practice, sad to say, they were seldom observed. Notwithstanding the passage of these laws the disputations over the rights of the Indians were continued, one being held between Bartholomew de Las Casas and Sepulveda at Valladolid in 1550.[5]

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2 WEBER, *Friedrich: Beiträge zur Charakteristik der älteren Geschichtschreiber über Spanisch-Amerika,* Leipzig, 1911, no. 14. In the collection: "Beiträge zur Kultur-und Universalgeschichte" edited by Karl Lamprecht. (Abbrev.: Weber), 57-58.

3 *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España.* (Abbrev.: "Col. doc. hist. Esp."), vol. LXXI, Madrid, 1879, 311 seq.

4 FREITAG, ANTON, S.V.D.: *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung über den Vorkämpfer der indianischen Freiheit Don Fray Bartolome de Las Casas bis zu seinem Eintritt in den Dominikanerorden,* Steyl, 1915, 7-14.

5 VANDERPOL, ALFRED, *La Doctrine scolastique du droit de guerre,* Paris, 1919 (Abbrev.: Vanderpol), 414-415.

This entire Valladolid disputation—indeed, the whole controversy over the Indians—is well summed up in the title of one of Las Casas' works written in Latin: "A Disputation between Fra Bartolomé de Las Casas (or Casaus), Bishop, and Doctor Genes Sepulveda, in which the Doctor (Sepulveda) contended that the occupation of the Indies is licit, while the Bishop (Las Casas) affirmed and defended the proposition that such action is and can never be otherwise than tyrannical, unjust, and iniquitous. Which question was expounded and disputed in the presence of many men of letters, theologians, and jurists, at the conference assembled by order of His Majesty in the city of Valladolid in 1550."[6]

At that time the most celebrated schools of the Dominican Order in Spain were St. Gregory's, founded at Valladolid in 1488, and St. Stephen's, founded at Salamanca in 1515.[7] In these convents, preachers of the Divine Word returning from the far distant lands of the Indies recounted to their superiors and to the learned masters and lectors their frequently most distressing observations of the lot of the Indians since the discovery of those regions. Disputations on these questions were frequently held. To the problem which the missionaries reported, and to the questions which they raised, the learned professors of these colleges offered a solution in the light of the teachings of St. Thomas, at the same time drawing up a systematic doctrine covering these matters. Likewise the novices of the white scapular of Mary, with spirits aroused for apostolic labors by the example of the missionaries, were at the same time imbued by their professors with a sane doctrine concerning the mutual relationship of different peoples. The influence of these teachers was indeed great, extending as it did not alone to theologians and pastors of souls, but to all learned men, to those even who stood closest about the royal throne.[8]

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6 Las Casas, Bartolomé (de), *Obras*, Seville, Sebastian Trugillo, 1552, Opus 4; in a volume preserved under no. 393, 343B in the Palace Library at Vienna (Abbrev.: Las Casas "Obras" 1552).

7 Mortier, O. P., *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs*. Tome V, Paris, 1911 (Abbrev.: Mortier), 317.

8 Getino, Luis G. Alonso, O. P., *El Maestro Fr. Francisco de Vitoria y el renacimiento filosofico teologico del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1914 (Abbrev.: Getino), 29;

Torres, Fray Alberto M., O. P., *El Padre Valverde*, Guayaquil, 1912, 10-13.

And the leader of this marvellous scientific life was Francis de Victoria. Hence it will be well briefly to sketch his life and work before we enter upon our real matter of discussion.

B) Francis de Victoria.[9]

a) His Life. Francis de Victoria was born about the year 1480 in Victoria, the principal city of the province of Avila. This name according to the Spanish manner of pronunciation is sometimes given as Vitoria, or even Bitoria, or Bytoria.

The youth enrolled in the Order of Preachers at Burgos. After his course there, during which he completed several years of philosophy and theology, he was sent in accordance with a custom of long standing to the Studium at Paris—very probably about the years 1504-1506. At the school of St. James at Paris, Father Peter Crockart, O. P., commonly styled "of Brussels," was his professor.

At the General Chapter of the Order held at Geneva in 1513, the faculty and moderators of the college proposed him for promotion "ad gradus" and during the year 1516 he was assigned to teach the "Sentences" to the extern students of the great schools. He taught at Paris with great success and in the year 1522 received the licentiate from the Sorbonne.

From Paris he was called to teach in the celebrated College of St. Gregory at Valladolid and continued in that position until 1526.

In that year he obtained in the University of Salamanca the First Chair of Theology, which was then the highest scientific dignity in all Spain. This he won according to the prevalent custom of that day, by the suffrages and votes of the students themselves cast after the delivery of lectures by each of the various competitors for the chair.

Here Victoria taught until the day of his death, August 11, 1546.

His Influence. It is remarkable how illustrious he made the school of Salamanca. His ability was so great that this school which up to his time had remained little known, under his leadership arose in the eyes of the whole world to a position of great

9 These biographical details are taken, unless otherwise noted, from QUÉTIF-ECHARD, O. P., *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, and from Father Getino's excellent life of Victoria, which we frequently cite in this study.

esteem and glory. He taught scholastic theology in a scholarly and attractive way after the manner of Paris, enriching it by drawing from ecclesiastical history and the Fathers, though always with critical discernment, and by employing a pure style and elegant diction, thus provoking others to imitation as well as to admiration.

Yet this great man so highly deserving of praise as a restorer of the teachings of St. Thomas, however much he preferred the more polished style of the humanists to the aridly precise Lantinity of the Scholastics, and however much he sought to mitigate the crudeness of the latter and to soften it by a greater liberty of interpretation—notwithstanding this preference—never suffered this propensity by any chance to dim the lustre of his solid doctrine.[10]

Victoria before all else was a theologian. And his idea of theology was so broad and expansive that he included within its field the elucidation of many questions pertaining to other sciences.

Almost all of the men who became notable in sacred or profane sciences in Spain in the 16th Century were either directly or indirectly his disciples.

He was very highly esteemed and his reputation spread far beyond the boundaries of Spain. Pope Paul III, on April 9, 1539, invited him to the General Council. Charles V attended his lectures in the school and sought his counsel on questions of particular difficulty, as for instance, on the question of the marriage of Henry VIII, King of England, and on the question of the Indians—as we shall see below. Others too followed the example of the king in consulting him, especially in moral questions, in which Victoria came to be considered almost an oracle.

His disciples showered incredible praise upon him. To mention but one, Melchior Cano, O. P., who also later became his successor in the First Chair of Theology at Salamanca, speaks of Victoria in the introduction to the twelfth book of his work, "De Locis Theologicis" as "the greatest of the Preceptors of

10 cf. VANDERPOL, 252-254, 259-260. On Victoria's method of freely interpreting St. Thomas, cf. MELCHIOR CANO, O. P.; *Opera*, Venice, 1759, 272; GETINO, 87, 194, 263; MORTIER V., 433.

Theology, a teacher whom Spain had received by a singular gift of God."[11]

c) His Works. Many of the works of Victoria have come down to us from his disciples in the notes which they took on his lectures delivered in the schools. Father Getino in his life of Victoria enumerates the following:

1) "Secunda Secundae Div. Thomae a Fr. Petro Crockart de Bruxellis; cura discipuli eius, Victoriae." Published at Paris by Claude Chevallon in 1512.

2) "Consejo sobre si los señores pueden vander ó arrendar los officios, como escribanias ó alguacilasgos." Published at Salamanca by D. Zuniga in 1552 at the end of his work on the scrupulous conscience.

3) "Relectiones Theologicae." Of these more will be said below.

4) "Summa Sacramentorum Ecclesiae ex doctrina Fr. de Victoria." By Fr. Thomas a Chaves, his disciple, at Valladolid (Pinciae) in 1560. By the year 1629 this work had passed through twenty-nine editions.

5) "Confesonario." At Salamanca in 1562 and Medina del Campo in 1569.

Besides these, Father Getino in his biographical work (pag. 184-188) enumerates certain small printed works and some of Victoria's unpublished manuscripts, particularly commentaries on St. Thomas.

Of greatest importance to us is the work entitled "Relectiones Theologicae." It treats of different questions which were of special moment at that time and on which Victoria delivered public lectures and disputations and which his students took down in writing, namely: On the Power of the Church, On Civil Power, On the Power of the Pope and the Council, On the Indians, On the Law of War, On Matrimony, On the Increase of Charity, On Temperance, On Homicide, On Simony, On Sorcery, On the Obligations of a man attaining the use of reason. Accordingly as they are divided these lectures number eleven, twelve, or thirteen in different editions.

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11 Melchior Cañus, *Opera*, Venice, 1759, 272.

The first edition was published by Jacques Boyer at Lyons in 1557.[12] The second by Alphonso Muñoz, O. P., at Salamanca in 1565. The editor of this second edition vehemently charges that the first edition is full of blunders. However, when we compare it with the other editions it really does not seem that we can accuse it of so very many errors either in style or in other respects. In 1580 the Ingolstadt Edition was prepared from the Lyons and Salamanca editions.[13] And from these three editions, a fourth was published in 1586 at Lyons at the expense of Peter Landry.[14]

Besides these four editions there were, according to Father Getino, at least eight other editions published by 1765.[15]

Of these lectures under discussion, two treat "ex professo" of questions concerning law between nations. These are: "Relectio de Indis Prior," and "Relectio de Indis Posterior, sive de Jure Belli." These two dissertations were published separately by Marchio de Olivart at Madrid in 1900 as a supplement to his work, "Derecho International.[16] A more elaborate edition of these two treatises was published in 1917 in the United States of America by the Carnegie Institution at Washington.[17] This edition accurately sets forth in the critical footnotes on the text all the variant readings of the first three editions, viz: the Lyons edition of 1557, the Salamanca edition of 1565, and the Ingolstadt edition of 1580, together with those of the Cologne-Frankfort edition of 1696. In addition it contains a photographic

12 VICTORIA, FRANCISCUS (DE), O. P., *Relectiones Theologicæ XII, in duos tomos divisæ*, Lyons, 1557 (Abbrev.: Lu. 1557). A copy of this edition is preserved in the Palace Library (Royal Library) at Vienna, under the No. 7, L 40.

13 VICTORIA, FRANCISCUS (DE), O. P., *Relectiones tredecim in duos distributæ*, ex Officina Weissenhorniana apud Wolfgangun Ederum. 1580 (Abbrev.: Ing.). A copy of this edition was kindly lent me for some time by Very Rev. Father J. J. Berthier, O. P., Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities.

14 VICTORIA, FRANCISCUS, O. P., *Relectiones Theologicæ tredecim partibus per varias sectiones in duos libros divisæ*. Lyons, 1586. According to Father Getino (170) two editions seem to have been published at Lyons in 1586. I saw the copy preserved in the Dominican convent at Szombathly (Sabaria).

15 170-171.

16 Father Getino informed me of this.

17 VICTORIA, FRANCISCUS (DE), *De Indis et de Iure Belli Relectiones*. Edited by Ernest Nys. (In the collection: "The Classics of International Law," edited by James Brown Scott), Washington, 1917 (Abbrev.: Wash.). This edition and that of Ingolstadt of 1580 are the two editions to which we shall generally refer in our citations.

reproduction of the text of the two dissertations in question as given in the Cologne-Frankfort edition.[18] The time at which, according to Father Getino,[19] Victoria delivered these two lectures is to be fixed about the year 1539.

It would be too long for our present study to enumerate all the sources and authorities upon which Victoria drew in his lectures. Suffice it to say that besides the Books of the New and Old Testaments, the writings of St. Augustine, the Corpus Juris Canonici et Civilis, he freely cites more than eighty authors among whom there were not a few theologians, canonists, and jurists belonging particularly to the 14th and 15th and early 16th centuries.[20]

II. Doctrine of the Rights of the Indians

A) Introduction.

a) Division of the whole Lecture on the Indians.

The question which gave immediate occasion for this lecture is one which St. Thomas himself[21] also considers, namely: Whether or not the children of infidels can be baptised when the parents are unwilling.[22]

The Spanish King Charles in his letter of January 1, 1539, sought the advice of Victoria on questions relating to the religious instruction and conversion of the Indians, and in his letter of March 31, 1541, consulted him on this question of their baptism—a question which had been proposed to the king by Bartholomew de Las Casas.[23]

According to the statement of Victoria, his dissertation would have three parts, the first treating of the law by which the savages (sc. the Indians) fell under the sway of the Spaniards; the second, of how the Spanish rulers could act toward

18 Victoria, Franciscus (de), *Relectiones Morales duobus tomis comprehensæ.* Works of John George Simon, Cologne and Frankfort, August Boetius, Publisher, 1696. (In Wash. edition, pp. 299-471.)

19 100-104, 278.

20 A list of these authors and sources is given in the Wash. edition, pp. 473-475.

21 *Summa Theologica* (Abbrev.: S.Th.), II, II q. 10, a. 12; III, q. 68, a. 10.

22 Ing., 200; Wash., 218.

23 Getino, 114-117; 211-212.

the Indians in temporal and civil affairs; and the third, of what they, or the Church, could do for the Indians in spiritual affairs and matters regarding religion. In this third part, the initial question was that of the baptism of heathen infants, and to it the author of the lectures proposes to respond.[24]

But the truth of the matter is, as we shall see, that this whole dissertation on the Indians treats in an extensive way of the first only of these parts, of the way, namely, in which the Indians could be said to come under the sway of the Spanish. Of the rights of the Spanish rulers and of the Church toward the Indians, Victoria does not treat separately, but what he says of these he has scattered here and there through his work.

b) The timeliness of this discussion.

Before Victoria sets himself to the question in hand he treats at length and with circumspection of the question of the timeliness of a discussion of these matters. For—as is evident from the objections which Victoria cites and refutes—there were some who insisted that a discussion on these questions was not only idle, but even rash in view of the fact that the Spanish rulers, who were certainly most Christian and most just, had already been in peaceful possession of the Indies for some time.[25] Indeed, Charles V himself, on November 10, 1539, wrote a letter to the prior of the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen, at Salamanca, in which—notwithstanding his above mentioned letter expressly asking Victoria about certain Indian questions—he strongly complained of the lectures and discussions held by the religious professors of that convent on the question of whether or not the King of Spain had the right to possess the Indies. He strictly forbade the prior in the future to allow the presentation or printing of such disputations.[26]

In regard to the affair of the Indians, Victoria speaks thus: "—neither is it of itself so evidently unjust that it is impossible to discuss the justice of it, nor is it on the other hand so evidently just that no question can be raised as to its injustice. It seems

24 ING., 201; WASH., 218.
25 ING., 201; WASH., 218.
26 GETINO, 101-102.

rather to contain something of both."[27] For on the one hand the administration of those affairs seems to be in the keeping of good and learned men, but on the other hand there are reports of much slaughter, spoliation, and dispossession of both public and private owners. And for that matter, theological disputations are wont to be held, at least for the sake of practice, on even certain questions.

To objectors who claimed that these questions had already been sufficiently discussed, Victoria replied: sufficiently perhaps by jurists, but certainly not by theologians. For these questions must be examined by theologians since they belong to the forum of conscience; nor may the Indians be obliged by the human laws of the Spaniards. Consequently their affairs are not to be settled by jurists formulating human laws, but by theologians making application of divine law."[28]

c) Public and Private Ownership among the Indians.

With these preliminaries out of the way, Victoria attacks his subject.

His first question is: "Whether the aborigines in question were true owners both in private and public law before the arrival of the Spaniards, that is, whether they were true owners of private property and possessions and whether some among them were true princes and rulers over the rest."[29]

There were some, Victoria testifies, who by an argument drawn from slavery denied public and private ownership to the Indians. For, as they asserted, the Indians—since they seem to differ little from brutes and are totally incapable of governing—are certainly among those to whom can be applied the teaching of Aristotle, set forth in his First Book of Politics,[30] that some men are of inferior mentality and sturdier bodies and are thus by nature destined for slavery. For such it is, indeed, even better to be ruled by others. Sepulveda was one of those teaching this opinion.[31] For slaves, these claimants proceeded to argue, as

27 ING., 206; WASH., 221.
28 ING., 205-206; WASH., 221-222.
29 ING., 206; WASH., 222.
30 ARISTOTLE *Opera omnia*. Didot Edition, Paris, 1873-1883, II. pp. 484-487.
31 *Col. doc. hist. Esp.*, Vol. LXXI, pp. 312-313.

Victoria tells us, do not possess dominion. Hence since before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Indians possessed no dominion, they could be seized as "res nullius" and employed as slaves by the Spaniards.

In truth, however, Victoria replys, "They were in peaceful possession of their goods both publicly and privately and hence by all means (unless the contrary is clear) are to be considered as owners and cannot for the cause alleged be deprived of possession."[32]

If indeed those savages did not have dominion such contention might be established from three reasons only: 1) either because they are sinners; or 2) because they are infidels; or 3) because they are feeble-minded or demented.

The first two pretexts, namely, the sins and the heathenism of the Indians, Victoria rejects as manifest errors and heresies.[33]

Victoria cites St. Thomas[34] who shows that Jews or other infidels do not lose dominion over their children on account of unbelief.

Let us apply this in a modern sense: St. Thomas there (in the body of the article) denies that the Church has the right to baptize the children of infidels when their parents are unwilling. Among other considerations, he says there the following: "it would be contrary to natural justice if a child, before coming to the use of reason, were to be taken from the care of its parents, or anything done to it against its parents' wishes. As soon, however, as it begins to have the use of its free will—it should be induced to embrace the faith, not by compulsion, but by persuasion—" This seems to be applied in our times: by giving to parents the right of choosing the language in which schooling may be obtained, but this cannot be imposed on those outside the state, nor even on unwilling parents and reluctant children.

By way of corollary, Victoria adds: ". . . it is not justifiable to take anything that they possess from either Saracens or Jews or other unbelievers as such, that is, because they are

32 Ing., 207; Wash., 223.
33 Ing., 207-210; Wash., 223-226.
34 S. Th. IIa. IIae q. 10, a. 12.

unbelievers; but the act would be theft or robbery no less than if it were done to Christians."[35]

By applying these principles to modern times, none may strip another of his moveable or immoveable goods by native right, by payment, or similar means, because of language, or race.

Thereupon Victoria establishes his conclusion: ". . . savages cannot be barred from being true owners alike in public and in private law by reason of the sin of unbelief or any mortal sin nor does such sin entitle Christians to seize their goods and lands."[36]

The third argument offered by some against the dominion of the Indians is their manifest unintelligence or incompetency. For example, Sepulveda[37] teaches that they are all savages in morals, and the greater number even by nature, without learning or prudence. . . . On the contrary Las Casas says they are by no means like brutes, incapable of knowledge and virtue, but most docile, humble and patient.[38] Indeed, it must not be forgotten that the various tribes of Indians or inhabitants of America have different degrees of civilization and human culture.

Victoria believes that right and dominion belong to children prior to the use of reason and to imbeciles. Moreover, he adds, that the Indians are not mentally unsound but, after their own manner, have order in their affairs, laws, crafts, matrimony, a kind of religion, and do not err in things which are evident to others, which is also an indication that they possess the use of reason. That indeed, "they seem so unintelligent and stupid, I attribute for the most part (says Victoria) to an evil and barbarous upbringing for even among ourselves we find many peasants who differ little from brutes."[39]

The upshot of all the proceeding is, then, that the savages undoubtedly had true dominion in public and private matters just like Christians and they could neither be despoiled nor deprived of their property on the ground of their not being true

35 ING., 211; WASH., 226.
36 ING., 214; WASH., 229.
37 *Col. doc. hist. Esp.*, LXXI, 312.
38 *Col. doc. hist. Esp.*, LXII, Madrid, 1875,27.
39 ING., 261; WASH., 231.

owners. And it would be harsh to deny to those who have never done any wrong, what we concede to Saracens and Jews, who are the persistant enemies of the Christian religion: we do not deny that these latter peoples are true owners of their property, if they have not seized lands at one time belonging to Christians.[40]

Victoria also has this doctrine stated in his first study, "De Potestate Ecclesiae,"[41] where he says: "among pagans there is a complete temporal and civil power"; but the same thing he demonstrates more at length in his study, "De Potestate Civili."

Las Casas, too, has practically all the doctrines on the liberty of the Indians. Of these, let it here suffice to produce the following: any nations and peoples, no matter how infidel, having lands and distinct kingdoms, which they inhabited from the beginning, are free people, recognizing none in authority outside their own superiors.[42]

Leo XIII. in his Encyclical, "Libertas praestantissimum," of June 29, 1888, has this to say: "neither does the Church condemn those, who, if it can be done without violation of justice, wish to make their own country independent of any foreign or despotic power."[43] Pius XI., gloriously reigning, in his Encyclical, "Ubi arcano Dei" of December 23, 1922, teaches among other things the following: "other races also have the right to live and seek after good fortune."[44]

Victoria's final conclusion is: "the savages were true owners before the Spaniards came among them both from a public and private point of view."[45]

B) The illegitimate titles of the Spaniards among the Indians.[46]

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40 ING., 217; WASH., 231-232.

41 ING., 8, in relectione. "De Potestate Civili" vero: ING., 132-133.

42 LAS CASAS "Obras," 1552, opus 2 "Principia quaedam . . ." fol. I., post fol. A. V.

43 Vide, vo gr.: DENZINGER-BANNWART S. I.: "Enchiridion Symbolorum" X, ed. Friburgi Brisg., 1908 (abbrev.: Denzinger-Bannwart), page 515, n. 1936.
Translator's Note: The extract above taken from "The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII.", Benzinger, New York, 1903, page 162.

44 A. A. S., XV, 682.

45 ING., 218; WASH., 232.

46 In some Editions of the studies, v. g., in that of Lyons, 1557, this does not begin a new section.

Having supposed, therefore, that the Indians are, or were true masters, the question arises by what title the Spaniards could come into possession of the Indians or of their lands?

Victoria first offers seven illegitimate titles, then—in the following section—the legitimate.

a) The first illegitimate title for the Spaniards' occupation of the Indies is taken from the presumed dominion of the Emperor of the whole world (in as far as the Emperor is the same as the King of Spain, namely Charles).

Victoria refutes this thesis in a scholarly and lengthy manner.[47]

But—he continues—even granted that the Emperor would be the lord of the world, he could not occupy the provinces of the savages, constitute new rulers and depose the former, and receive taxes. Because even according to those who concede to an Emperor the lordship of the world, this fact does not entitle him to the dominion of ownership, but only of jurisdiction. Nor therefore, can his right, in this case, be extended to this, that he transform the provinces in their usages, or give towns, or even landed-estates at will.

This title therefore does not validly justify the Spaniards in taking possession of the Indies.[48]

b) The second title, also declared illegitimate by Victoria, which would justify the Spaniards in taking possession of the Indies, is the grant on the part of the Supreme Pontiff.

For some said that the Roman Pontiff was monarch of the whole world even in temporal things.

Victoria—who cites again his first study, "De Potestate Ecclesiae," in which[49] he copiously treats of the Papal power—teaches, on the contrary, that the Pope has power in what pertains to spiritual matters only, which we might call indirect power, i. e., he can involve himself in temporal affairs, in so far as it is necessary for the government of spiritual things. By this argument he has the right to arbitrate and render judgment among Christian princes.[50]

47 ING., 220-226; WASH., 233-238.
48 ING., 226; WASH., 238.
49 ING., 43-59, 61-63.
50 ING., 226-231; WASH., 238-242. Confer his first study, "De Potestate Ecclesiæ" ING., 62.

The same indirect power, Victoria attributes also to Bishops in their dioceses.[51]

Over unbelievers, however, the Pope does not have such indirect power.[52]

He concludes finally: "What has been said demonstrates, then, that at the time of the Spaniards' first voyage to America they took with them no right to seize the lands of the indigenous population.[53]

It is known to all, that Alexander VI., 1493, divided among the Spaniards and Portuguese newly discovered lands and those subsequently found. Certainly these Pontifical letters had offered grounds for the thesis referred to above but challenged by Victoria, according to which the Spaniards came into legitimate possession of the Indies by reason of the Pontifical grant. This is what Sepulveda, for example teaches.[54] Moreover, Charles V., in his above mentioned letter to the Prior of St. Stephen's of Salamanca, under date of November 10th, calls upon Papal authority for his dominion over the Indies.[55]

Victoria himself in his first study, "De Potestate Ecclesiae," holds that the distribution of infidel provinces, namely of islands discovered by the Spaniards, pertains to the *indirect* power of the Pope in temporal affairs.[56]

About the decisions of Pope Alexander VI., let it suffice for us to say with the very learned Ludwig Pastor,[57] that this grant can not be so understood, as if the Pope gave something which was not his own, and sinned against the liberty of the Indians. The Pope simply wished to eliminate quarrels that were occasioned by explorations and discoveries of new lands among Spaniards, Portuguese, and perchance other Christian peoples, and thereby to render easier the preaching of the Gospel in those newly discovered countries.

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51 ING., 231; WASH., 242.

52 ING., 231-232; WASH., 243. St. Thomas in S. TH., IIa IIae q. 10, art. 9, ad 2, has the following: "The Church does not exercise judgment against unbelievers in the point of inflicting spiritual punishment on them."

53 ING., 233; WASH., 244.

54 *Col. doc. hist, Ssp.* LXXI, 315, 322.

55 GETINO, 101-102.

56 ING., 62-63.

57 *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol III. ed. 4 et. 5., Friburgi Brisg., 1899, 517-521.

c) The Third illegitimate title for the occupation of the New World by the Spaniards, is its discovery, for things abandoned and found become the property of the first one to take possession of them. No other title, according to Victoria, was alleged from the beginning, and Columbus at the very outset, made his voyage by reason of this title. But—he answers—since the savages in these newly discovered regions were true masters, publicly and privately, there could be no question in this case of a thing abandoned and without possessor. And so that title helps in no way their possession of them, no more than if they discovered us.[58]

d) The fourth illegitimate title for subduing the savages and occupying their lands was that they were unwilling to receive the doctrine of Christ, although it was proposed to them and they were admonished to receive it.[59]

Moreover, Sepulveda clearly taught that the pagan Indians were first vanquished, subjected to the Spaniards, and only after this was done was the Gospel preached to them.[60]

Victoria answers this by six propositions or conclusions:

1) Before the savages heard anything about Christianity, they were not guilty of the sin of unbelief from the fact that they did not believe in Christ.[61]

2) Savages are not bound to believe at the first and insufficient preaching of the Christian faith. Since they are not bound to receive the faith after its simple proposal, they remained innocent in this matter if they refused the faith, and would not be doing injury to the Spaniards. The Spaniards therefore, would have no just cause for waging war upon the Indians, since St. Thomas observes (S.Th. IIa IIae q. 40, art. 1) that a just cause is required for a just war.[62]

3) Savages are bound under pain of mortal sin to hear those speaking to them of religion, since it is to be supposed that they have no probable reasons for their errors, and there is

58 ING., 233; WASH., 244.
59 ING., 233-235; WASH., 244-245.
60 *Col. doc. hist. Esp.* LXXI, 317-328.
61 ING., 234-239; WASH., 246-248; cf. S. TH., IIa IIae q. 10, art. 1, ad 6; q. 34, art. 2, ad 2.
62 ING., 239-240; WASH., 248-249.

present the obligation of believing in Christ and of being baptized.[63]

4) Savages are bound under pain of mortal sin to receive the faith when it is preached to them "with probable and rational argument" and with an upright and devoted life according to the laws of nature, for such a life is a great argument for confirming truth; and this not once and carelessly, but perseveringly and diligently.

5) It is not, however, quite evident to Victoria that the Gospel, as a matter of fact, was sufficiently preached in this manner to the Indians.[64]

6) It would not even be permitted to wage war upon the savages, if after an adequate preaching of the Gospel, they were nevertheless unwilling to receive the Gospel. Because, as St. Thomas declares, (S.Th., IIa IIae. q. 10, art. 2) infidels who never adopted the faith, as Gentiles and Jews, are in no way to be compelled to embrace the faith.

Thus the fourth unjust title for seizing the Indies is rejected.[65]

e) The fifth false title for conquering the Indians, Victoria asserts, is that this should be done because of sins against nature of which they were accused, such as the eating of human flesh, the promiscuous intercourse with their mothers, sisters, men, and other similar sins. The opinion of Victoria is put forth with many arguments and in a scholarly manner, that the Indians could not be punished on account of such sins, neither by the Pope nor by any Christian prince since they are not their subjects.[66] However, this should be compared with the fifth just title.

f) There is still a sixth title, namely the voluntary choice of a Spanish ruler by the savages themselves. But then, Victoria asserts, fear and ignorance should be absent. In our case, however, the Spaniards were armed, but the Indians weak and fearful. But neither the savages themselves had the right to depose their *legitimate* chieftains and elect Spaniards in their

63 ING., 240; WASH., 250.
64 ING., 241; WASH., 250.
65 ING., 241-242; WASH., 250-251.
66 ING., 242-245; WASH., 251-254.

place; so on the other hand, the lawful rulers of the savages could not yield their power to the Spaniards.[67]

8) Then there were those who alleged *a seventh title,* namely, that God abandoned these savages into the hands of the Spaniards to be destroyed because of their abominations. Evidently our author cannot admit this title.

After having rejected the false titles for the seizure of the Indies, Victoria has this final conclusion: ". . . if there be no other titles than those, it would certainly be of ill-omen for the salvation of our princes, or rather of those who are charged with such matters; for princes follow the advice given by others being unable to examine into these matters for themselves. What does it profit, said the Lord, that a man gain the whole world, and lose himself and cast away himself? (Matth. XVI; Mark VIII; Luke IX.)[68]

C) The lawful titles whereby the savages could come under the sway of the Spaniards.

As it is quite apparent from the lucubrations of Victoria, most of the reasons which are there enumerated, would not in themselves, establish titles by which the Spaniards could take possession of the Indies, but in so far as, under certain conditions, they can give the occasion of a just war. On the occasion of a just war, certain conditions can justify their occupations.

a) The first title can be called that of natural society and communications.

Our author at the outset brings forward many conclusions or propositions:

1) "The Spaniards have a right to travel into the lands in question and to sojourn there provided they do no harm to the natives and the natives may not prevent them."[69]

This right follows from the "ius gentium" according to which it is considered discourteous among all nations to show ill-will toward strangers and visitors without special cause. Moreover, friendship, and consequently hospitality and commerce seem to be of the natural law. To prohibit anyone from a state or

67 ING., 246; WASH., 254.
68 ING., 246-247; WASH., 254-255.
69 ING., 251; WASH., 257.

province, or to expel those already living there, would be the part of war. Here Victoria—long before Hugo Grotius—proclaimed the liberty of the sea, as does Benedict XV. in his celebrated exhortation, dated August 1, 1917.[70]

Since such travel between countries is licit by natural and divine law, and human law can not prohibit it without cause, a contrary attitude would be inhuman, irrational, and consequently would not have the force of law.[71]

2) "The Spaniards can negotiate with them, without loss to their native country, for example, by importing thither goods which the Indians lack and by taking in exchange either gold or silver or other wares in which they abound. Chieftains cannot hinder their subjects from carrying on commerce with the Spaniards, nor on the contrary can Spanish leaders prohibit commerce with the Indians."

3) "If there are among the Indians any things which are treated as common both to citizens and strangers, the Indians may not prevent the Spaniards from communication and participation in them." Thus, if other strangers are also permitted to dig gold from a common field, or from rivers, or to fish for pearls in the sea, or in the river, the Spaniards can not be denied this right. Such rights are part of the "ius gentium"; and are also derived either from the natural law or from the consent of the human race. In such matters the consensus of the majority of men also obligates the rest.

4) Victoria affirms the Civic rights of one born in a state where his parents, although strangers, have their domicile.[72]

Those things which have been said of free communication and of free commerce are of very great importance to-day since nearly all countries are separated one from another by unwise custom boundaries which are useful to certain persons only and not to the common good; and, due to this situation, all commerce, indeed the whole economic life, of Europe in particular, is choked.

5) If the savages wish to prohibit the Spaniards from the "ius gentium" in those things spoken of above, the Spaniards

70 A. A. S. IX, 419.
71 Ing., 251-252; Wash., 257-258.
72 Ing., 253-254; Wash., 259-260.

should show by every persuasion and argument that they came not to inflict injury, but with motives altogether peaceful. If the savages are nevertheless unwilling to acquiesce, the Spaniards have the right of defending themselves because it is justifiable to repel force with force. If they cannot be safe otherwise, it would also be lawful for them to build ramparts and fortifications. Then if they should receive injury, they can prosecute it with war upon the authority of their leader and can use the rights of war, for according to St. Thomas (S.Th., IIa IIae q. 40, art. 1) repelling and avenging an injury is cause for a just war.

It must be noted, however, that these savages are by nature timerous and of inferior intelligence. Consequently it could easily happen that they should be fearful of the Spaniards who are foreign in culture, armed, and more powerful, although the Spaniards should come in peace and without any intention of trickery. If these savages, moved by such fear, should wish to expel and even to kill the Spaniards, although they come with peaceful intent, the savages, out of invincible ignorance, certainly have the right to proceed legitimately against their supposed enemies, the Spaniards; the latter on the other hand, may defend themselves, but under the guidance of a blameless leader, bearing in mind that the savages are invincibly ignorant of the peaceful intention of the Spaniards and therefore innocent. There are certain rights of war against men truly malicious and injurious and others against the innocent and the ignorant. "There is no inconsistency, indeed, in holding the war to be a just war on both sides, seeing that on the one side there is right and on the other there is invincible ignorance." Victoria offers another example: "Just as the French hold the province of Burgundy with probable ignorance, believing that it belongs to them; while our Emperor's right to it is certain and he may make war to regain it just as the French may defend it."[73]

6) "If after recourse to all other measures the Spaniards are unable to obtain safety as regards the savages, except by seizing their states and by subjecting them, they may proceed to these extremities."

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73 ING., 255-256; WASH., 260-261.

7) Then after the Spaniards, in word and action, have diligently shown that they wish no evil against the peaceful life and affairs of the savages, if the latter should nevertheless persist in their hostility and attempt to destroy the Spaniards, these may proceed against them with every right of war as against perfidious enemies, despoiling them, sending them into captivity, deposing their former rulers, constituting new ones: with moderation, however, considering the nature of the affair and the injuries: just as it is permitted against Christian enemies who are malevolent and unjust.

That title according to Victoria—clear in itself—is valid only if it is made without fraud and deceit and no feigned causes for war are sought.[74]

b) *The second title* for seizing the lands of the savages can accidently arise on the occasion of the propagation of the Christian religion.

For:

1) Christians have the right of preaching and making known the Gospel in the provinces of the savages.

2) The Pope could confide this office to the Spaniards and forbid all others. Moreover, in order that the tranquility of this sacred commission may not be disturbed through the jealousy of different Christian nations, he can even forbid other nations from intercourse with these savages by reason of his indirect power in temporal affairs. It also seems just to exclude other nations from these migrations to foreign countries for the reason that Spanish Kings were the first to begin these explorations by their command and at their expense.

For preserving peace and spreading the Christian religion, the Pope could also so distribute the provinces of the Saracens among Christian princes that one might not transgress the property of the other.

3) If the barbarians permit the Spaniards to preach the Gospel, whether they receive the faith or not, as was already enumerated among the illegitimate titles, they cannot start war on this pretext and seize their lands. For there can be no just

74 ING., 256-257; WASH., 261-262.

cause for war unless an inquiry has been inflicted previously, as St. Thomas teaches (S.Th., IIa IIae q. 40 artl).

4) To safeguard the free preaching of the Gospel, it would be lawful to make use of war as a last resort: always observing moderation and heeding the dictates of reason, rather waiving personal rights and directing everything more to the advantage of the savages than to one's own aggrandisement. But in this case there is a great danger that the conversion of the savages may be hindered rather than promoted by such a warlike method of acting. Victoria fears, "that matters might progress further than right and duty permitted."[75]

3) *The third title:* If the chieftains of those Indians converted to Christ should wish to bring them back to idolatry by force or terror, they can be defended by the Spaniards even with warlike measures, if it cannot be done by other means, and certainly not only by a religious title, but also by the title of friendship and of human society.

d) *The fourth title:* "If a large number of the Indians were converted to Christ . . the Pope with good reason, could give a Christian ruler to those who seek one, or even to those who do not make such a petition, and could remove the other infidel masters," in the supposition that this would be expedient for the preservation of the Christian religion. Victoria cites St. Thomas and also the Pauline privilege permitting a dissolution of the marriage bond if one of the persons in question has been converted to Christ.

Providing there is no scandal, this emancipation of the Christians from the subjection to infidel lords could be cause for a just war.[76]

e) *The fifth title:* Although by reason of sins against nature, it would not be allowable to wage war against the savages, as we saw in the fifth illegitimate title for war, such a war could nevertheless become licit either "because of the tyranny of the masters of the savages or else on account of tyrannical laws that injure the innocent; for example, if they sacrifice innocent men, or kill blameless men to eat their flesh."

75 Ing., 257-260; Wash., 262-264.
76 Ing., 260-261; Wash., 264-265.

The Spaniards can also defend the innocent from an unjust death without the authority of the Pope.[77]

It should not be forgotten that Pius IX. in his syllabus, No. 62, condemned the principle of the so-called "non-intervention."

Las Casas however, who speaks rather from practical experience, does not approve of war as a means of preventing human sacrifices, since more are killed in these wars than would otherwise be sacrificed as victims to the pagan cult.[78]

f) *The sixth claim:* If the majority of the Indians (both chiefs and subjects) chose as their ruler, the King of Spain, he might be imposed on the unwilling minority, even by force of arms. If they have become Christians, Victoria thinks that they may choose a Christian ruler, even abandoning their infidel lord.

g) *The seventh title:* the relation of allies and friends, for a state has the right to call upon foreign neighbors to assist them against alien malefactors. It is recorded—continues Victoria—that the Spaniards acted in this manner by helping the Tlascalani against the Mexicans.

h) *The eighth title* cannot be asserted positively, but is a matter of dispute. Victoria himself on this question neither ventures to affirm anything nor does he condemn it entirely, namely, if these savages were incapable of governing themselves rightly on account of their mental deficiency, the Spanish rulers can undertake the administration of them, for the utility of the savages, but not for personal aggrandisement. In this sense can be interpreted that which was said in the beginning of this study about certain men, who, according to Aristotle, are destined by nature to servitude.[79]

Las Casas on this question writes thus: "All these Indian nations and peoples must be ruled and governed spiritually and temporally for their good and for their own sakes; that whatever disposition is made concerning them in temporal government, the Spanish Kings are obliged to make with a view to their complete temporal and spiritual advantage."[80]

77 ING., 261-262; WASH., 265.
78 GETINO, 109-110.
79 ING., 262-265; WASH., 265-267.
80 LAS CASAS, *Obras*, 1552, Opus 2, fol. 4b post fol. A. V.

Anyone might object: that when these just titles for war ceased and at the same time the wars themselves, all migration, commerce, and the advantages accruing to the Spanish Kings, should cease. To this Victoria answers that mutual commerce should never cease. Many possessions were abandoned by the Indians, therefore they can be occupied. Even the Portuguese have commerce with similar peoples, although these peoples are not subject to them. The King can impose a tax upon gold received into Spain through commerce with the Indians. But, since many Indians are already Christians, "it would not be expedient, nor licit for a ruler to surrender entirely the government of those provinces."[81]

III. The Law of War

The dissertation "De Indis, sive de iure belli Hispanorum in barbaros, relectio posterior" is intended to complete the first which treats of the rights of the Indians.

The four principal questions with which this study deals are: *a)* Is it entirely licit for Christians to wage war? *b)* To whom does the authority of waging or of declaring war belong? *c)* What can and ought to be causes of a just war? *d)* What kind and degree of stress is lawful in a just war?

A) To the first question Victoria replies that Christians are permitted to bear arms and to wage war.

What Victoria holds on this question may be found in substance in St. Thomas (Sum. Theol. IIa IIae, Q. XL, A. 1), whom our author cites. No one who wishes to know the most reliable Catholic doctrine on war should fail to study this article of the Angelic Doctor!

According to this doctrine of Aquinas three things are required that a war be just: "First, the authority of the sovereign, by whose command the war is to be waged. . . . Secondly, a just cause is required, namely, that those who are attacked, should be attacked because they deserve it on account of some fault. . . . Thirdly, it is necessary that the belligerents should have a rightful intention, so that they intend the advance-

81 Ing., 265-266; Wash., 268.

ment of good, or the avoidance of evil. . . ." Otherwise a war is unjust, and consequently illicit.

This was the common opinion of Catholic doctors all through the Middle Ages, and it prevailed until the end of the sixteenth century and indeed beyond that time, as Alfred Vanderpol, of happy memory, attests with many citations.[82] Near the close of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth, on account of the controversies over the probable conscience, a different opinion was held by many but not by all theologians, as Vanderpol proves; it was admitted that even a probable opinion was sufficient for waging war. Consequently they went so far as to declare that a war might be just for both belligerents, of which we shall speak later. They conceded that a war which was carried on for no other reason than for redress of a culpable injury was not only licit, which was the common doctrine in the Middle Ages, but that such a war might be a sort of means of solving difficulties of a juridico-political nature arising between different kingdoms.[83]

Victoria teaches expressly what is also clearly stated in the article of St. Thomas mentioned above, namely, that for concluding a just war successfully mere defense is not always sufficient, but that sometimes alien enemies should be coerced and punished by an offensive war.

Luther teaches, on the contrary, as Victoria notes, that Christians are not permitted to bear arms even against the Turks, since if the Turks invaded the Christians, this would be the will of God which no one may lawfully resist.[84]

B) *The second question* which Victoria asks is this: to whom does the authority of waging or of declaring war belong?

In the beginning our author declares that even a private person has a right to defend himself and his property since he may repell force with force.

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82 VANDERPOL, v. gr., pp. 211-214, 250-254. VANDERPOL repeats this briefly in his work: *Droit de guerre d'après les théologiens et canonistes du moyen-âge.* Paris, 1911.

83 VANDERPOL, 250-276.

84 What Victoria holds thus far on the liceity of war: ING., 272-275; WASH., 271-275.—For the opinion of Luther regarding wars against the Turks see, e. gr., GRISAR, S. J., *Luther*, vol. II, Fribourg, i. B. 1911, 60-75.

Moreover each state has authority to declare or to carry on war. A private person has the right to defend himself in the moment of peril, but that is all. The state, however, since it should not be wanting in whatever is necessary, has the additional right to recover anything which has been carried away and to avenge injuries, that is, to punish evildoers, even alien.

Whether principalities or states, which operate partly on their own law and partly on that of some superior ruler, have the right to wage war, depends on the *ius gentium*, on human law and to a great extent on custom.[85]

C) *The third question*, which according to Victoria is more necessary for solving the questions relating to the savages, is: what can and ought to be causes of a just war?

a) First proposition: Difference of religion is not a cause of a just war. This Victoria proves at sufficient length in his treaties on the right of the Indians, where he treats of the fourth unjust title for occupation of the Indies. Victoria adds here that this opinion is the common sentiment of the doctors and that he knows of no one who holds the contrary.

b) Second proposition: Neither personal glory nor the convenience of a ruler can be a cause of a just war. For a ruler should ordain both war and peace to the common good, otherwise he acts as an unlawful tyrant and by an abuse of power makes the citizens slaves.

d) Fourth proposition: (*) The one and only cause of a just war is injury received. This opinion of the ancient doctors is set forth in Art. 1, Q. XL of the IIa IIae of the Summa Theologica. For there can be no vindication where injury has not preceded.

e) Fifth proposition: Not every injury or injury of any sort, suffices for waging war, but only one that is proportionately grave.[86]

D) *What kind and degree of stress is lawful in a just war?*

This question occupies by far the greater part of the dissertation on the law of war.

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85 ING., 275-279; WASH., 275-278.

* Translator's Note: No *Third proposition* is given in the manuscript.

86 ING., 279-281; WASH., 278-279.

a) At the outset Victoria lays down *certain propositions:*

1. In war whatever is necessary for the defense of the public good may be done. The reason for this is that the purpose of war is to defend and preserve the state. Even a private citizen may take these measures, as was mentioned before. Therefore, it is much more lawful for a state and a ruler.

2. It is lawful to recover whatever has been lost or their value.[87]

3. It is lawful to recoup from the treasury of the enemy for the expenses of the war and for all damage caused by the enemy. This is the judicial act of a prince, who may take such measures against an enemy, if his subjects are affected by any injury of which the enemy has been guilty and has not repaired. (*)[88]

There are two modern pontifical pronouncements of the greatest moment regarding the question of indemnities of war: Benedict XV, on August 1, 1917, exhorted the rulers of the belligerent powers to be mutually considerate when dealing with reparations and indemnities: and when there are particular causes of enmity, these should be weighed with justice and fair-dealing.[89] Pius XI, in his apostolic letters of June 23, 1923, to His Eminence Card. Gasparri, writes that if the debtor seriously wishes to repair the damage he has caused, and invokes an impartial tribunal, then justice and social charity as well as the welfare of the creditor nation and of all nations seem to demand that no more be exacted from the debtor than that which he is able to offer without completely exhausting his resources and ruining his power of production.[90]

4. Since the purpose of war is to secure tranquility and peace, if these cannot be obtained in any other way, rulers involved in a just war have the right to take more aggressive measures, for instance, to destroy a fort of the enemy, or to set up fortifications in hostile territory, just as these things may be done against their own citizens if they be malevolent.

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87 In place of the word *"value"* some editions have the word *"portion"* which is less clear. Cf. WASH., 280.

* Translator's Note: It seems impossible to translate this sentence without supplying some three or four words. The translation given has been made in accordance with the general context.

88 ING., 281; WASH., 279-280.

89 A. A. S., IX, 419.

90 A. A. S., XV, 354-355.

Victoria adds by way of corollary that "when victory has been won and redress obtained, the enemy may be made to give hostages, ships, arms and other things when this is genuinely necessary for keeping the enemy in his duty and preventing him from becoming dangerous again."

5. Further, a prince prosecuting a just war may lawfully punish those of the enemy who are malicious, for alien malefactors could not otherwise be deterred from their evildoing, nor could order be maintained in the world. The same reason serves to justify the punishment of his own citizens who are guilty of crimes. "But if the state can do this to its own citizens, society at large no doubt can do it to all wicked and dangerous folk, and this can be only through the instrumentality of the princes." For at the end of a just war, the enemy who have been guilty of wrong-doing are amenable to the decision of the victor of the war as if he were their own judge. Thus the right of inflicting punishment belongs to a ruler not only for the protection of property, but also for the preservation of the honor and authority of the state.[91]

When he speaks of punishing the malefactors of the world at large Victoria seems to have in mind some league of nations working in harmony against evildoers.

b) Our author finds that what has been said may give rise to many difficulties:

1. The first difficulty is concerned with the justice of the war, that is, whether, in order that a war be just, it is sufficient that the ruler believe his cause is just?

Victoria's first answer is that this is not always enough. When the causes are of minor importance it is not sufficient for him to believe that he is acting justly. For he may err vincibly and willfully.

Victoria's second response to this difficulty is: "It is essential for a just war that an exceedingly careful examination be made of the justice and causes of the war, and that the reasons of those who on grounds of equity oppose it be listened to . . . and he (the ruler) ought to consult the good and wise and those

91 ING., 281-283; WASH., 280-281.

who may speak with freedom, and without anger or bitterness or greed."[92]

To obtain an impartial judgment on peace and war it is, therefore, by no means sufficient to consult men who are skilled merely in politics, economics, business, law, military matters and the like, and who have little solicitude for questions of justice among nations. Wherefore Victoria expressly declares in the beginning of his first dissertation concerning the Indians that such questions pertain not only to lawyers but also to theologians.[93] It is necessary above all else that these men be imbued with justice, equality and fraternal charity, and free from "that sort of ambition which blinds them to the public weal and love of country."[94] It is particularly necessary to repeat this again and again in our own day, since, as Pius XI attests, the evil of materialism is creeping into our everyday life and into domestic and civil society.[95]

2. The second difficulty: are subjects obliged to inquire into the cause of a war or may they bear arms without considering the cause?

Our author's answer to this question is contained in four propositions:[96]

First: "If subjects are convinced of the injustice of a war, they ought not to serve, even on the command of their prince." For they are not allowed to kill innocent citizens or innocent aliens at the unjust command of a ruler; yet that is what would occur in an unjust war. It follows as a corollary that in this matter subjects are bound to follow their conscience even if it be erroneous.

These questions are of vital importance in our own day, especially for pastors and professors.

Secondly: "Senators, petty rulers and in general those who are admitted on summons or come voluntarily to the public council or to the prince's council, ought and are bound to examine into the causes of a just war." Such men are responsible for any war

92 ING., 283-284; WASH., 281-282.
93 ING., 206; WASH., 222.
94 A. A. S., XIV, 682, in the Encyclical "Ubi arcano Dei."
95 A. A. S., XIV, 688.
96 ING., 284-286; WASH., 282-283.

which may have been entered upon unjustly without due consideration.

Leo XIII, in his Encyclical "Immortale Dei," November 1, 1885, wrote as follows: ". . . It is unlawful to follow one line of conduct in private and another in public, respecting privately the authority of the Church, but publicly rejecting it.[97] Benedict XV, in his apostolic exhortation of July 28, 1915, contends and afterwards repeats his contention that before the Sovereign Judge the same rule should be applied to public action as to private.[98] Pius XI, in his Encyclical, "Ubi arcano Dei," laments that "regarding the relations between states" many Catholics also profess such doctrines, as if the doctrines and precepts of the preceding Pontiffs "had lost their native vigor and had fallen entirely into disuse."[99]

Since, according to Victoria, the king alone or with a few councilors may easily err, "no war should be waged on the opinion of the king alone, nor on the opinion of a few, but on the judgment of many and prudent men."

Thirdly: The lesser folk, since they are neither admitted to nor heard in councils, are not obliged to inquire into the causes of a war, but are permitted to fight relying on the judgment of their leaders, "because it is impossible and inexpedient to give reasons for all acts of state to every member of the community."

Fourthly: Nevertheless, the causes and reasons of a war may be such that ignorance of them, even on the part of the lesser folk bearing arms, would be inexcusable.

From these propositions it appears that it is easily possible to strike a serviceable middle course between an extreme democracy, in which even international problems requiring great subtlety and discretion are left to the decision of the people who often lack wise judgment, and a so-called dictatorship, in which one man or a few men, without consulting the people or even the learned and prudent, dare to issue decrees involving the lives and property of tens of millions.

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97 DENZINGER-BANWART, 507-508.
Translator's Note: The translation is taken from "THE GREAT ENCYCLICAL LETTERS OF POPE LEO XIII," Benziger Brothers, 1903, p. 133.

98 A. A. S., VII, 367, and IX, 420.

99 A. A. S., XIV, 696.

3. *The third difficulty:* What is to be done when the justice of the war is doubtful, that is, when there are probable and plausible reasons on both sides?

First: It seems that as long as the doubt remains, one party should not seek to recover by war what the other party possesses legitimately.

Secondly: "If the state or province in regard of which the doubt arises has no lawful possessor, as, for instance, when it were open by reason of the death of its lawful lord and there is a doubt whether the King of Spain or the King of France be the heir and no certainty in law can be attained, it seems that if one party wants to settle or make a division or compromise as to part of the claim, the other is bound to accept his proposal, even if that other be the stronger and able to seize the whole by armed force."

Thirdly: "He who is in doubt about his own title is bound, even though he be in peaceful possession, to examine carefully into the cause and to give a quiet hearing to the arguments of the other side. . . ."

Fourthly: "After examination of the case, the lawful possessor is not bound to quit possession so long as the doubt remains, but may lawfully retain it."

Fifthly: Both in offensive and in defensive wars, subjects are obliged to follow their ruler when the affair is doubtful. According to the opinion of Victoria, this is the safer course. Otherwise the subjects might expose themselves to the danger of betraying the state to the enemy.[100]

4. *The fourth difficulty:* Is it possible that a war be just for both parties?

Victoria answers: "First proposition: apart from ignorance the case clearly cannot occur, for if the right and justice on each side be certain, it is unlawful to fight against it, either in offense or defense. Second proposition: assuming a probable ignorance either of fact or of law, it may be that on the side where true justice is, the war is just of itself, while on the other side, the war is just in the sense of being excused from sin by reason of good faith, because invincible ignorance is a complete excuse. Also

100 ING., 289-290; WASH., 286.

on the side of the subjects at any rate, this may occur; for even if we assume that a prince who is carrying on an unjust war knows about its injustice, still (as has been said) subjects may in good faith follow their prince, and in this way the subjects on both sides may be doing what is lawful when they fight."[101]

Frequently Victoria contends that it is not possible for a war to be just on both sides except through invincible ignorance. Indeed, time and again he offers the argument: "otherwise it would be a just war for both sides."[102]

5. *The fifth difficulty:* "Whether anyone who has in ignorance gone in an unjust war and is subsequently convinced of its injustice, is bound to restitution? This may be asked both about a prince and about a subject."

If he fought in good faith, when he becomes aware of the injustice of the war, he is bound to restore, from among the things with which he has enriched himself, whatever he has not consumed; if he fought in bad faith, he should make full restitution.

Here Victoria sounds a warning of such great importance that I feel obliged to give it in full: "Much attention must be paid to the admitted fact that a war may be just and lawful in itself, and yet owing to some collateral circumstances may be unlawful. For it is admitted that one may be entitled to recapture a city or a province and yet that, because of some scandal, this may become quite unlawful. For inasmuch as (according to what has been said before) wars ought to be waged for the common good, if some one city cannot be recaptured without greater evils befalling the state, such as the devastation of many cities, great slaughter of human beings, provocation of princes, occasions for new wars to the destruction of the Church (in that an opportunity is given to pagans to invade and seize the land of the Christians) it is indubitable that the prince is bound to give up his own right and abstain from war. It is clear that if the King of France, for example, had a right to take Milan, but by the war both the kingdom of France and the duchy of Milan would suffer intolerable ills and heavy woes, it would not be right for him to retake it. This is because the war ought to take place

101 ING., 289-290; WASH., 286.

102 Thus ING., 256; WASH., 261; ING., 279; WASH., 278; ING., 286; WASH., 284; ING., 287; WASH., 284; cf. ING., 303; WASH., 297.

either for the good of France or for the good of Milan. Therefore, when on the contrary, great ills would befall each side by the war, it could not be a just war."[103]

Our author teaches this same doctrine in his dissertation, "De Potestate Civili,"[104] where he writes: "No war whose prosecution brings evil rather than advantage and profit to the state is just, even though titles and reasons establishing its justice on other grounds may be brought forward. The reason of this is that if the state has not the right to wage war except for its defense and protection, then if it were weakened or ruined by such a war rather than strengthened, the war would be unjust, whether it were carried on by the king or by the state. Moreover, since each state is a part of the whole world, and especially since a Christian province is a part of the state, if a war which is of advantage to one state or to one province be detrimental to the world or to Christian society, I consider that for that reason the war would be unjust. So that if the Spaniards should be warring against the French in a war begun for just reasons and in every respect favorable to the Spanish kingdom, if some greater evil or loss threatened the Christian world, as for example, the occupation of Christian provinces by the Turks, such a war should not be continued."

In his letter to Petro Ferdinando de Velasco, Constable of Castile, under date of November 19 (probably in the year 1536) Victoria wrote that he could not wish for any greater blessing from God than to see his ruler and the King of France on terms of fraternal friendship. If this should happen. All heresies and calamities would cease and the Church would take on renewed vigor. Without such concord between these two rulers, it was quite impossible to summon a Council or to apply any other remedies however apposite, for the restoration of Christendom. Wars are not always of advantage to rulers. Indeed, these wars entail the destruction of Spain, France, Italy and Germany.[105]

All this is Victoria's doctrine. The present question is whether or not in modern times, since wars are waged on a larger scale and their frightful consequences are felt so much more easily

103 ING., 290-291; WASH., 287.
104 ING., 135.
105 GETINA, 212-213.

throughout the world on account of our greater world-wide interdependence both economic and otherwise, it is not more likely now than in earlier times that a war which *in itself* is just and lawful, may not, on account of the greater evils and dangers which would probably follow from it, be unlawful.

The doctrine which Victoria teaches here concerning the obligations of a state *considered as a part of the whole world*, and of the duties of a Christian state as a part of Christendom, is of the greatest importance.

In another place, as we have already seen,[106] our author declares that there is an obligation on *the world* of punishing evildoers.

He teaches that the Pope, by reason of an indirect power, may intervene and act as mediator in international conflicts in which Christian rulers are involved.[107]

Let us add that in his dissertation, "De Potestate Ecclesiae," he teaches that in spite of an unwilling minority, the greater part of Christendom, or those who are concerned in spiritual matters, have a right to create a monarch to whom all rulers and provinces must offer homage, if such a measure be expedient to the Church and to the Christian world.[108]

A few extracts from modern pontifical documents may serve as a conclusion: Benedict XV, on March 4, 1916, teaches among other matters that the people ought to sacrifice their own advantages and personal aggrandizement in favor of the fellowship of all nations.[109] On August 1, 1917, he made a plea for international arbitration.[110] The present reigning Pontiff (Pius XI) in his Encyclical "Ubi arcano Dei" urges that "all peoples as members of the great human family" should be joined "in a bond of fraternal intercourse"[111] he deplores the fact that enmities and mutual public aversions do not allow the people to breathe freely.[112] Finally he adds, ". . . there is no human institution which can impose on all nations any common code of law, appropriate

106 ING., 283; WASH., 281.
107 ING., 226-231; WASH., 238-242. Read, in the dissertation *De Potestate Ecclesiæ*, ING., 62.
108 ING., 135-137.
109 A. A. S., VIII, 59.
110 A. A. S., IX, 418-419.
111 A. A. S., XIV, 682.
112 A. A. S., XIV, 677.

for this age: in the Middle Ages, the society of nations, which was a community of Christian peoples, was of that nature. In that time, although rights were violated many times, the sanctity of law remained intact, as a safe norm by which the nations themselves were judged."[113]

Who is still unaware of the impious consequences of the errors condemned in the Syllabus of Pius IX, especially number 39—that the State is the source of all rights—and numbers 56 to 64—that the material law is superior to moral and divine law?

c) *When there are particular doubts about the affair, how far may a just war be prosecuted?*[114]

In response to this question we shall offer only that portion of his reply which seems to be useful to-day.

1. The killing of those who are innocent and harmless (v. g., children, women, husbandmen, clerics and non-combatants in general) is not permitted of itself. It might be permitted to kill a *few* people *accidentally* in storming a fortification, or in similar cases.

Benedict XV in his address of December 4, 1916, expresses his regret that among other things "unfortified cities and defenceless multitudes have been greviously harrassed by aereal attacks: here and there such crimes have been committed, on land and sea, which fill the soul with horror and anguish."[115]

2. It is not allowed to despoil the innocent, continues Victoria, unless it be a question of arms which they might use as enemies. Still, if victory can be gained in no other way, it is lawful to despoil them of other things. Our author recommends that things of this kind be restored after the victory.

3. If the same conditions under which the *accidental* spoilation of the innocent is permitted prevail, it is lawful to take them captive.

Benedict XV in the address of December 4, 1916, mentioned above, deplores the fact that "many peaceful citizens have been carried far away from their homes, from weeping mothers, wives and children."[115]

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113 A. A. S., XIV, 689.
114 ING., 291-303; WASH., 287-297.
115 A. A. S., VIII, 467.

4. It is not lawful to kill hostages because the enemy breaks faith, but it is allowed if the hostages themselves commit any crimes.

5. Regarding the killing of the guilty, Victoria states these doctrines:

When war cannot be waged except by removing all opposition, it is lawful to kill the foe in actual conflict. After victory, in order to avenge a proportionately grave injury, it is lawful to take the lives of any who have been guilty of crime, according to the sentence of a legitimate judge. Nevertheless, this should be done without cruelty or torture. But it is not permitted to kill all, just as, in a common rebellion, it is not lawful to kill all the seditious.

The reason, as Victoria adds, is that all subjects cannot and need not inquire into the causes of a war, and thus, for the most part, the soldiers on both sides are presumed to be innocent. It is not lawful to kill any of this class after a war.

6. The same rules which are stated under number 5 hold good for captives who are malicious. Nevertheless if, on the occasion of surrender, certain precautions have been undertaken with regard to them, these may be observed.

7. Everything seized in a just war may be retained as satisfaction for the goods which have been carried away and for the expenses of the campaign.

Strictly speaking, it is not lawful for soldiers to sack a city, though this may be lawful when such a measure is necessary for carrying on the war. But to do this without grave necessity would be a serious offense, since many cruelties and abuses can arise from it. It is never permissable for soldiers to take booty or to fire property of their own accord, without the authority of their prince or leader. In so far as it is necessary to seize cultivated land, fortifications, or strongholds of the enemy, it may be done.

When the war is over and peace has been restored, such things must be surrendered, and only that which serves as an indemnity may be retained.

Moderation, fair-dealing and humaneness should be observed even in these things.

8. Victoria affirms that it is lawful to impose tribute upon the conquered enemy; and not only as compensation but as punishment.

9. For weighty reasons the rulers of the enemy may be deposed.

Victoria notes particularly regarding these doubtful questions, that sometimes, indeed frequently, rulers as well as subjects wage war in good faith after diligent inquiry and consultation. Such men are free from blame. "And since no one who has not committed a fault should be punished, in that case, although the victor may recoup himself for things that have been taken from him and for any expenses of the war, yet just as it is unlawful to go on killing after victory if the war has been won, so the victor ought not to make seizures or exactions in temporal matters beyond the limits of just satisfaction, seeing that anything beyond those limits could be justified only as a punishment, such as could not be visited on the innocent."

d) *The three rules for waging war:*

After the exposition of these doctrines, Victoria concludes his dissertation with the three "rules and regulations of waging war," which ought to be inscribed in golden letters on every building where peace and war are discussed. These rules are as follows:

First rule: assuming that a prince has authority to make war, he should first of all not go seeking occasions and causes for war, but should, if possible, live in peace with all men, as St. Paul enjoins on us (Rom. XII). Moreover, he should reflect that others are his neighbors, whom we are bound to love as ourselves, and that we all have a common lord, before whose tribunal we shall have to render our account. For it is the extreme of savagery to seek for or to rejoice in grounds for killing and destroying men whom God has created and for whom Christ died. But only under compulsion and reluctancy should he come to the necessity of war.

"Second rule: when war for a just cause has broken out, it must not be waged so as to ruin the people against whom it is directed, but only so as to obtain one's rights and the defense of

one's country, and in order that from that war peace and security may in time result.

"Third rule: when victory has been won and the war is over, the victory should be utilized with moderation and Christian humility, and the victor ought to deem that he is sitting as a judge between two nations, the one which has been wronged and the one which has done the wrong, so that it will be as judge and not as accuser that he will deliver the judgment whereby the injured state can obtain satisfaction. This so far as possible should involve the offending state in the least degree of calamity and misfortune, while the offending individuals are to be chastised within lawful limits; and a special reason for this is that in general, among Christians, all the fault is to be laid at the door of the prince. For subjects when fighting for their princes act in good faith, and it is thoroughly unjust, in the words of the poet (Horace) that 'ut quidquid delirant reges, plectantur Achivi'."[116]*

Final Conclusion

This is the very brief doctrine of Francis de Victoria concerning the proper relations between nations, truly a precious monument to Catholic science on this most difficult question, and vitally important to-day.

The Most Holy Father (Pius XI) in his Encyclical "Ubi arcano Dei" declares that ". . . this love of one's country and of one's race, which if controlled by Christian law, frequently leads to the practice of virtues and deeds of heroism, nevertheless can become the source of numerous injuries and offenses and grows into an immoderate national love, when it oversteps its right and proper bounds."[117]

There can be no safety without a renewal, cultivation, and broad and practical spread of the Catholic doctrines of justice, equality and charity among nations, in proper accord and harmony with the sound Catholic doctrine of loyalty to one's country

116 Ing., 303-304; Wash., 297.

* Translator's Note: The line from Horace may be rendered: "For every folly that kings commit, the punishment should fall upon the Greeks."

117 A. A. S., XIV, 682.

and to one's people, based on the tradition of the Catholic doctors and on the most recent Pontifical documents.

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NOTE: The translation of portions of the *Summa Theologica* that occur in this article were taken from that made by the English Dominicans.

In translating the direct quotations from Victoria's two dissertations, we have compared with the translation of J. P. Bate made from the 1696 (Simon) Edition and given with the Washington (1917) Edition prepared by H. F. Wright in the "Classics of International Law,"

Edited by James Brown Scott.
Washington 1917—
Carnegie Institution.

In most cases, Dr. Bate's translation was found to be satisfactory and has been adopted here.

THE ASTRÉE AND ITS INFLUENCE

The *Astrée* the first great modern French novel is a romance in which are developed simultaneously a half dozen long stories and at least thirty episodes. The action takes place in the native country of d'Urfé on the banks of the river Lignon,[1] the period selected is the fifth century A. D., the time of the invasion of Gaul by the barbarians. Forez, which escapes these troubles, is peacefully governed by Queen Amasis and still clings to the old national religion, Druidism.[2] The country around the Lignon is inhabited by shepherds and shepherdesses who live in an atmosphere of ideal peace and happiness.[3] The idyllic life of this pastoral society attracts many knights and ladies who come to enjoy surcease from their trials and to seek direction for the future conduct of their love affairs under the guidance of the Druid, Adamas, the confidant of all. Others come from distant parts to learn their fate by gazing into the "Fountain of the truth of love," a happy invention of the author to give unity and purpose to his work. If love is sincere the image of the loved one as well as that of the lover can be discerned at the same time in the depths of this fountain.[4]

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1 The country of the *Astrée* is a little triangle, at the apexes of which are Montbrison, Feurs and l'Hôpital-sous-Rochefort, and the center is La Bastie. The description of this little spot given in the *Astrée* is well known, being one of the masterpieces of seventeenth century French prose: "Aupres de l'ancienne ville de Lyons, du costé du Soleil couchant il y a un pays nommé Forests, qui en sa petitesse contient ce qui est de plus rare au reste des Gaules; car estant divisé en plaines et en montaignes les unes et les autres sont si fertiles, et situés en un air si temperé, que la terre y est capable de tout ce que peut desirer le laboureur. Au cœur du pays est le plus beau de la plaine, ceinte comme d'une muraille, des monts voisins et arrosée du fleuve de Loyre qui prenant sa source assez pres de là, passe presque par le milieu non point encor trop enflé ny orgueilleux, mais, doux et paisible. Plusieurs autres ruisseaux en divers lieux la vont baignant de leurs claires ondes: mais l'un des plus beaux est Lignon, qui vagabond en son cours, aussi bien que douteux en sa source, va serpentant par ceste plaine depuis les hautes montaignes de Cervières et de Cha'masel, jusques à Feurs où Loire le recevant, et luy faisant perdre son nom propre, l'emporte pour tribut à l'ocean." *Astrée*, I, 1, p. 37 f.

2 On the question of Druidism and Christianity in the *Astrée* see REURE, *La Vie et les Oeuvres d'Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 239 ff.

3 Lévrault points out an analogy between the pastoral quality of *As You Like It* of Shakespeare and that of the *Astrée* of d'Urfé, cf. *Le Roman*, p. 25, note 1.

4 "Vous sçavez quelle est la proprieté de ceste eau, et comme elle declare par force les pensées plus secrettes des Amants: car celuy qui y regarde dedans, y voit sa Maistresse, et s'il est aimé, il se voit aupres, et si elle en aime quelqu'autre,

The principal story is that of Celadon. He loves the shepherdess Astrée who believing him to be unfaithful bids him depart from her presence. In despair at her command Celadon throws himself into the river Lignon. Saved by the princess Galatée he resists the love she manifests towards him and remains true to Astrée. Nevertheless he does not dare to present himself before Astrée except in disguise until she revokes the sentence of banishment. Finally when the fidelity of her lover is proved by the "Fountain of the truth of love" she recalls him and all ends happily. The trial of her lover is prolonged throughout four long volumes, in the course of which the reader is entertained by other adventures, notably the noble love of Sylvandre for Diane and the inconstancy of the humorous Hylas. In this novel, love is the universal malady, none escape its toils. Sylvandre, the idealist, is a victim as well as Celadon, Hylas, and the others. This universal love is, according to d'Urfé, "honneste amite," lawful love, always accompanied with respect; it exacts of the feminine characters a great reserve and purity, of their male admirers enduring fidelity, and supposes in all the recognition of the fact that reason and will are the special attributes of the human beings. Even though living a simple life close to nature the shepherds of the *Astrée* are not by any means rustic in manners. All characters speak the language and comport themselves as members of refined society. These creations of the pen of d'Urfé are adepts in the art of conversation, poets and musicians, and when occasion arises, can exchange the shepherd staff for the sword. They are enlightened on the most abstruse subjects and discuss philosophical problems concerning Truth, Goodness and Beauty with scholastic acumen.

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c'est la figure de celuy la qui s'y voit." *Astrée*, I, 3, p. 153. This imaginative fountain is a beautiful allegory based on the theory that love tends to unite souls so that they seem to be merged into one personality, and the thoughts of the one are reflected by the other. "L'union et la jouissance, c'est le but où tend l'amour chez les bergers du Lignon, chez les disciples de Saint François de Sales." STROWSKI, *Saint François de Sales*, p. 413. The ideal of love upheld by d'Urfé is essentially opposed to that advocated by such writers as Montaigne. HONORÉ has depicted in his romance a whole hierarchy of loves, culminating in its most perfect mystic expression in the characters of Celadon and Astrée, Sylvandre and Diane. In the *Introduction to a Devout Life*, St. Francis de Sales has a theory of love similar—not identical—to that of the *Astrée*, but of course its object is not a mere creature but the Creator Himself, see Strowski, op. cit. supra, p. 408 ff; Wright, *History of French Literature*, p. 347.

Unlike his predecessors from whose works he borrowed[5] d'Urfé has had little recourse to the marvelous. His characters do not seek the effect of magic or preternatural intervention, interest is centered rather in the drama enacted in the human soul where he reveals the conflict taking place between opposing passions.[6] A touch of originality is added by the definiteness of the scene of the narrative. D'Urfé being a realistic idealist no longer introduces his audience into a mysterious and unreal Arcadia as did the author of the *Amadis* in the geographical location of his story. In the *Astrée* the background of the romance is localized and reinforces our sense of the reality of the incidents. The district of Forez, the home of his ancestors, is presented with an accuracy of description marking a wholesome change in the history of the pastoral. Frenchmen were beginning to take a legitimate pride in the scenery of their own country arising from a newly awakened sense of patriotism. The author of the *Astrée* was one of the first to sound this note, an obligation acknowledged by him in the Preface to the first part of the work.[7]

Nevertheless, the greatest claim to originality in the book does not lie in the subject treated, nor in its pastoral quality, nor even in the form of its composition—conversations, letters, poetry and prose—but in the broad interpretation of life which the writer suggests. His is the harmonious symmetry of the dramatist who dextrously weaves the complicated threads of multitudinous episodes, with their innumerable digressions, in which he never loses himself and never leaves a solution to

5 The principal sources of the *Astrée* are the *Amadis* of GAUL, the *Aminta* of TASSO, the *Arcadia* of SANNAZAR, and the *Diana enamorado* of MONTEMAYOR, etc. Cf. BONAFOUS, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 221 ff; GERMA, *L'Astrée*, pp. 100-148; REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 268 ff; LEFRANC, *Sources de l'Astrée*, in *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 14 dec. 1905.

6 The only exception to this is the episode of SYLVANIRE which hinges entirely on a magic mirror given by Tirinte (*Astrée*, IV, 3). The cure of Celidée leans toward the improbable. *Astrée*, III, 11.

7 "Que si quelqu'un me blasme de t'avoir choisi un Theatre, peu renommé en l'Europe, t'ayant esleu le Forests, petite contrée, . . . responds leur ma Bergere, que c'est le lieu de ta naisssance, que ce nom de Forests sonne je ne sçay quoy de champestre, et que le pays est tellement composé, et mesme le long de la riviere de Lignon, qu'il semble qu'il convie chacun à y vouloir passer une vie semblance . . . Nous devons cela au lieu de nostre naissance et de nostre demeure, de le rendre le plus honoré et renommé qu'il nous est possible." *Astrée*, I (L'Autheur à la Bergere Astrée).

chance. The same character appears again and again on the scene thus preserving a close-knit unity through the whole work. He surpasses his predecessors, too, in character drawing, in the introduction of a refined element of humor and in the high social aim of his romance which constitute him a worthy forerunner of Racine and Marivaux.[8] Recognizing this variety in the *Astrée*, Perrault exclaims, "There is ten times more originality in d'Urfé's work than in the Iliad."[9]

D'Urfé was, moreover, the first to differentiate type from type in accentuating various traits peculiar to each so that his characters are real living personalities. In this keen analysis of emotion, Celadon the perfect lover is imbued with a touch of mysticism in his attitude towards *Astrée*, object of his affection, for when banished from her presence he erects a temple in her honor and devotes himself unceasingly to the task of purifying his soul from all coarseness. Astrée, on the contrary, is a curious combination of vanity, caprice and virtue; of an imperious, suspicious and jealous nature, she is not at all the ideal creature of the older pastorals. With the self-sacrificing but lacrymose Celadon, the author contrasts Sylvandre, the philosopher and Platonist, whose high theories elevate the tone of the whole romance above a mere love tale. Diane the compliment of the latter, the cultivated intellectual woman of the French salon, is much more sympathetically drawn than the heroine Astrée.[10] Among many other types we may mention the graceful laughing Phylis, a picture as true of the modern French girl as it was of her prototype of the seventeenth century. He depicts Galatée as a haughty and fickle woman, Stella, a mingling of coquetry and frivolity always shirking responsibility. The author opposes the generosity of Ergaste to the violence of Damon, and the inconsolable Tyrcis to the chivalrous Lindamor.[11]

8 In the "Avis au lecteur" in the fourth part of the *Astrée*, BARO, the editor of the work, informs the reader that HONORÉ D'URFÉ conceived the book as an immense pastoral tragi-comedy of five acts and sixty scenes!

9 *Hommes illustres*, article d'Urfé.

10 This secondary couple particularly interested J. J. Rousseau who made a special trip to Forez in order to see the spot where Sylvandre and Diane gave their high code to their companions, cf. *Confessions*, I, 4.

11 The different passions are studied in the Astrée, ambition is incarnate in Polemas, jealousy in Astrée and Lycidas, maternal tenderness in Amasis, chivalrous valor in Euric, brutality in Gondebaud. Adamas personifies prudence, Hylas inconstancy in love. In this analysis of the emotions the novel preludes the clas-

The masterpiece of d'Urfé is Hylas who represents the voice of the sceptic against all the high mysticism of the principal characters. His careless mocking laugh furnishes an excellent foil for the metaphysics of Sylvandre and gains the immediate sympathy of the reader. It is not difficult to trace the evolution of Hylas through the earlier stories. He bears some relationship to Saffredont of the *Heptameron,* and Galaor in the *Amadis;* Belleforest has lightly sketched him, he is Pamphilus in the *Arcadia* of Sidney. But in the *Astrée* he stands forth in a new light, a feudal baron with the inimitable traits of the Gaul deftly filled in.

Much discussion has been aroused as to the identity of the characters of the romance, many critics declaring that under fictitious names Honoré d'Urfé designated real court personages of his time.[12] In the seventeenth century few of his contemporaries doubted that d'Urfé intended the work to be an allegory of his age, and the tendency to-day is to recognize the truth of his opinion.[13] The author merely changed the time and place of the incident to afford a thin disguise, and sometimes divided a complex character between two personages in his work, thus Diane and Astrée represent the wife of Honoré, while Sylvandre and Celadon depict himself at different epochs of his life.[14] The

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sical literature of the seventeenth century in which questions of morality and sentimental psychology predominate. Cf. LEFRANC; *Le Roman* (*Revue des Cours et Conférences,* 1905).

12 According to LEFRANC, without a key to the characters, the *Astrée* would be in many places inexplicable, for a mere literary explanation is not sufficient. The concurrence of history as given in the *Mémoires* of the reign of Henry IV is necessary to understand many incidents related by d'Urfé, cf. *Le Roman* (in *Revue des Cours et Conférences,* 1905).

13 CHARLIER, *Les Amours d'Alcidon,* pp. 50 ff.; WRIGHT, *A History of French Literature,* p. 286; REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé,* pp. 261 ff.

14 The identity of the principal characters of the *Astrée* is supposed to be as follows: Galatée is Queen Marguerite of Valois; Issoure, the chateau of Usson in Auvergne where she was sent in banishment; Euric is Henry IV; Daphnide, Gabrielle d'Estrées; Alcidon, the Duke of Bellegarde, Grand Ecuyer of France; Thorismond, King Henry III; Delie, Diane d'Estrées, wife of the Marechal Balagny and sister to the Duchess of Beaufort; Clarinte, the Princess of Conty, whose story also comes under the characters of Milgarde, Chrisanthe and Florian; Calidon, the Prince of Condé and Celidé his wife; Hylas and Amentor, the Duke of Mayenne, killed at the siege of Montauban; Periander and Alcire, the Duke of Sommerive; Florice, the lady of Beaumarchais; Dorinthe, the Demoiselle Pajot, etc. Taken from *Le Grand Dictionnaire historique,* LOUIS MORÉRI, Article d'Urfé, see also, MICHAUD, *Biographie générale,* Urfé. A different key and a more allegorical view is given by MONTÉGUT, *En Bourbonnois et en Forez,* pp. 261 f.

discovery and the application of these alusions formed one of the delights of the readers of the novel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the first part of the *Astrée*, Honoré disclaims any intention of writing a story with a key, but even in these early volumes he portrays under the character of Alcippe, one of his ancestors, Pierre d'Urfé, From the time of the publication of the first two parts (1607-1610) until the third which appeared about 1619,[15] the author was in close touch with court lift. His duties as "gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi" brought him often to Fontainebleau. To one of his habits of observation, the time spent in such close proximity to life at court was probably utilized in studying the traits of the members of the Queen's entourage in order to incorporate them in his romance. This fact may also account for the delay in publishing the eagerly awaited third part.

In this fiction, long meditated and patiently elaborated, the composition of which lasted over a quarter of a century, d'Urfé puts not only his own life, but what is more noteworthy, he has given voice to almost all the aspirations of his time and has left a fairly complete picture of a society tired of thirty years of civil war, now hungering for rest, for tenderness and for an ideal. "This obscure provincial," remarks M. Morillot, "composed an almost universal book summarizing the whole intellectual and sentimental life of an epoch. . . . One might say that the society of his time collaborated with him in it, and it is precisely this fact which makes such a work unique."[16]

The importance of the *Astrée* will be readily recognized when we consider that it stands at the juncture of the two confluents profoundly influencing French literature, the Italian and the Spanish pastorals, and the salient points of which d'Urfé combines in his great work.[17] In addition to the fact that it is the first modern French novel, initiating that literature to be later carried on by Gomberville, Calprenède, and Scudéry, the publication of the *Astrée* is of outstanding importance, being the point of departure of the history of the new literature as

15 REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 217.
16 *Le Roman* in PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, vol. IV, p. 413.
17 MARSAN, *La Pastorale dramatique française*, p. 171.

it is the product of all anterior literary efforts in the realm of the bucolic.[18]

From this brief analysis it can easily be seen that the *Astrée* is much more than a novel, and that the introduction of concrete characters is merely a cloak for a didactic work. It is a psychological and philosophical examination of love and friendship; of beauty and art according to the theories of the neo-Platonists; it is a compendium of Renaissance learning; a historic work in which Gaul of the fifth century is described in conformity with the best documents then available and which the author studied seriously enough to gain for himself in the succeeding ages the title of historian.[19] As a novel it is many sided in its interest. It is, as we have seen, a novel with a key where under pastoral names several recent experiences are recounted. It is a romance of adventures from which for some time after many of the subjects of tragic-comedy were extracted. It is a romance of chivalry in which the spirit of the Amadis again comes to life. It is a pastoral in which we find mingled with the Spanish souvenirs of Montemayor, reminiscences of the Italian *Aminta* of Tasso. Lastly the *Astrée* is identified in an especial way with the sentimental novel which it enlarges, deepens and complicates. In breadth of handling, in variety of subject and unity of interest Lefranc compares the *Astrée* to the work of Honoré de Balzac or Emile Zola.[20]

II. Influence of the Astrée on Literature and Society

An eminent critic of our time writes of the *Astrée:* "If I were sent to twelve month's imprisonment of a mild description, and allowed to choose a library, I should include in it from the heroic or semi-heroic division, *Clélie,* La Calprenède's two chief works, Gomberville's *Polexandre* and Goumbald's *Endimion* (this partly for the pictures), with as a matter of course, the *Astrée,* and a choice of one other."[21]

The chief work of d'Urfé offers a striking example of the inconstancy of public opinion in literary and artistic matters.

18 CHARLIER, *Les Amours d'Alcidon*, p. 33 f.
19 VIANNEY in BEDIER, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, vol. I, p. 228 f.
20 *Le Roman français au XVIIe siècle* (*Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 1905).
21 GEORGE SAINTSBURY, *The History of the French Novel*, p. 229.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the *Astrée* aroused a phenomenal enthusiasm while during the nineteenth century it was almost completely forgotten by all except the critics. From the moment of its publication society was infatuated with its fine analysis of Platonic friendship. The *Astrée* dominated the French theatre for forty years, during which time almost all pieces played were drawn from episodes in the romance.[22]

"Between 1610 and 1650," remarks a critic peculiarly capable of judging, "that is to say during the time of the most lively struggle between Tragedy and Tragi-comedy, no book exercised a more profound or more universal influence on the theatre than the *Astrée* of Honoré d'Urfé."[23] The great writers of the classical period in French literature came under the spell of the novel and it was for the most part openly acknowledged. La Fontaine declares:

> "Cloris eut tort de parler si crument,
> Non que Monsieur d'Urfé n'ait fait une oeuvre exquise;
> Etant petit garcon, je lisois son roman,
> Et je le lis encore, ayant la barbe grise."

Boileau sang its praises;[24] Mme. de Sévigné, in her retreat in Brittany, delighted in the charm of the characters painted in the story; Corneille was inspired by it in his *Suite du Menteur*;[25] Racine who had a copy of the *Astrée* in his library[26] owes to it his keen analysis of passion, and also somewhat of the senti-

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22 "Pendant quarante ans, dit Segrais, on a tiré presque toutes les pieces de théâtre de *l'Astrée*, et les poëtes se contentaient ordinairement de mettre on vers ce que d'Urfé fait dire en prose à ses personages. Ces pièces s'appelèrent des pastorales, auxquelles des comédies succédèrent." Cf. *Segraisiana*, p. 145; FRÈRES PARFAICT, *Hist. du Théâtre français*, t. IV, p. 517; also MARSAN, *La Pastorale dramatique*.

23 FERDINAND BRUNETIÈRE in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, article "Tragédie."

24 In *Les Héros de Roman*, BOILEAU says that the *Astrée* was, "une narration egalement vive et fleurie des fictions trés ingénieuses, des caractères aussi finement imaginés qu'agréablement variés et bien suivis."

25 Act IV, Scene I, 11, Mélisse expounds the laws of sympathy according to the theory given by SYLVANDRE in the *Astrée*, II, 3; see Walther Fischer in *Modern Lang. Notes*, Vol. XXVII, p. 94, who discusses the question. On the influence of the *Astrée* on Corneille, see *Droz in Revue d'hist. littéraire de France*, 1921, also TILLEY, *From Montaigne to Molière*, p. 142.

26 *Revue d'Hist. littér. de France*, Ve année, p. 169.

mentality of many of his heroes;[27] Fléchier in his *Correspondence* with Mme. Deshoulières and her daughter shows the undoubted influence of d'Urfé; *Don Juan* of Molière is nothing else than a perverted Hylas, remarks Reure,[28] and even the great Bossuet borrowed some of the fine phraseology of the old romance for his panegyric of St. Bernard. As we have seen above, Saint Francis de Sales sincerely admired the work of Honoré. Camus, the friend and biographer of St. Francis, devoted several pages of his great book to the praise of d'Urfé;[29] in the *Astrée* d'Urfé is also the precursor of Fenelon's *Télémaque*.[30]

In the eighteenth century the influence of the novel on men of letters continued to be felt: Lesage, Prévost, Marivaux[31] were all indebted to the old romance, while Jean-Jacques Rousseau[32] and Barnardin de Saint-Pierre drew from it some of their love for nature. George Sand also based one of her stories on the *Astrée*.[33]

Nor was the work entirely forgotten in the nineteenth century, for occasionally unexpected traces of its hold on the affections of writers can be discovered. Thus, Edmond Rostand made his debut in the literary world by a critical study of the romance;[34] Brunetière did not hesitate to admit that "the success

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27 RACINE continues and completes the love depicted by d'Urfé, showing us the miseries of our present state. He conducts us to pure love by the horror and fear awakened in our soul at the prospect of ceaselessly hovering over the brink of the abyss; STROWSKI, *Saint François de Sales*, p. 418.

28 *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 284.

29 "Et certes qui considérera bien l'Astrée et en jugera sans passion recognoistra qu'entre les romans et les livres d'amour, c'est possible l'un des plus honnestes et des plus chastes qui se voient, l'autheur estant l'un des plus modestes et des plus accomplis gentils-hommes que l'on puisse figurer. . . ." *Esprit de St. François de Sales*, t. VI, pp. 119 f.

30 FEUGÈRE, *Les Femmes poètes*, p. 237; REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 284.

31 REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 284 ff; GERMA, *L'Astrée*, pp. 215 ff.

32 "Voilà le seul souvenir bien distinct qui me reste de ce qui m'est arrivé durant ce voyage. Je me rappelle seulment encore qu'en approchant de Lyon je fus tenté de prolonger ma route pour aller voir les bords du Lignon; car parmy les romans que j'avais lus avec mon père, *L'Astrée* n'avait pas été oubliée, et c'était celui me revenoit au coeur le plus fréquement. Je demandai la route du Forez; et, tout en causant avec une hôtesse, elle m'apprit que cétoit un bon pays de ressource pour les ouvriers, qu'il y avoit beaucoup de forges . . . Cet èloge calma tout à coup ma curiosité romanesque et je ne jugeai par a propos d'aller checher des Dianes et des Sylvandres chez un peuple de forgerons;" *Les Confessions*, Vol. I, 4.

33 *Les Beaux Messieurs de Bois-Doré*.

34 *Deux Romanciers de Provence: Honoré d'Urfé et Emile Zola*. This work obtained for Rostand the Maréchal de Villars prize from the Academy of Marseille in 1887.

of the *Astrée* has given its orientation to a large current of our modern literature,"[35] and according to Saintsbury even Victor Hugo was apparently influenced by it.[36]

The influence of the *Astrée* on the salons was even more marked than on individual writers; a knowledge of the incidents and characters in the novel became a kind of passport into good society.[37] Its grasp on the popular mind can be estimated by the frequency with which references to the story are to be found in the memoirs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All classes, educated as well as uneducated, were swayed by its code of politeness. The pastoral was known as "les délices et la folie de toute la France."[38] At the receptions held in the house of the Cardinal de Retz, one of the chief forms of amusement provided for the guests was to ask questions on the geography of the *Astrée* and a fine was imposed in case of failure to reply correctly.[39] Even the rigid inhabitants of Port Royal looked on d'Urfé as one of their friends.[40]

Discussions on the episodes of the story occupied a prominent place in the reunions at the home of Mme. de Sévigné[41] and in one of the best known salons of the seventeenth century, that of Mlle. de Montpensier and her friends at the chateau of Saint Fargan, there occur constant souvenirs of the romance.[42] In the famous salon of Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet, which was organized in imitation of the society of the *Astrée* and which was the rendezvous for the most brilliant minds of the time, the old story was the guide in conversation, and the official standard of the gallantry which held sway in

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35 BRUNETIÈRE, *Manuel de l'Hist. de littér. française*, p. 105, note 4.

36 SAINTSBURY, *A History of the French Novel:* Addenda & Corrigenda, p. XII.

37 Says PIERRE DU RYER in *Les Vendanges de Suresnes:* "Un homme de neant . . .

Pourvu qu'il sache un mot des livres de l'Astrée,
C'est le plus grand esprit d etoute la contrée."

quoted in WRIGHT, *Hist. of French Literature*, p. 285.

38 PERRAULT, *Homme illustres, article d'Urfé.*

39 TALLEMENT DES REUX, *Les Historiettes*, t. VII, p. 21.

40 Cf. *Mémoires* du P. Rapin, quoted in REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 275 f., note 2, and also RACINE, *Lettre à l'auteur des hérésies imaginaires.*

41 See Letter of May 20, 1676.

42 *Mémoires*, t. VII, p. 124; REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 279-281.

that gilded circle.[43] Mme. Deshoulières was so charmed by the story that she made a pilgrimage to Forez to find in the country of Astrée and Celadon the inspiration for many of her best known poems.[44]

The book was read everywhere, in the ruelles, at Court, in the home of Mme. de La Fayette, in chateaux of the nobles, in the provinces and even in religious communities.[45] The influence of this old romance extended from serious statesmen like Richelieu to the courtiers.[46] This had its effect even on the styles of the period. We read that there were "jarretiéres Celàdon" which for some time were fashionable.[47]

The popularity of the novel was not confined to France. Its influence was felt throughout Europe where it contributed in a marked way to the diffusion of the French language.[48] It first crossed the frontier and invaded Germany, as is shown by a curious letter from the Académie des Vrais Amants, an aristocratic coterie formed in imitation of the society of the shepherds in the *Astrée*. These German princes and princesses informed

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43 *International Encyclopedia*, article *d'Urfé*.

"Thus *L'Astrée*, with its refinement, its moral elevation, and especially its glorification of woman, made a strong appeal to Mme. de Rambouillet and all those who under her influence were striving to refine the relations and intercourse between the two sexes. Since Malherbe had banished imagination from poetry, the human heart, from which it cannot be banished, welcomed all the more its appearance in a new form. In other and more particular directions, too, the romance left its impress upon the Hôtel de Rambouillet: in the spirit of psychological analysis and in the long conversations in which this is embodied, in the feeling for nature, and in the exaggerated sentiment and high-flown language with which the various lovers express themselves. It has been said that *L'Astrée* is a mirror of the Blue Chamber; it is a truer view that the Blue Chamber is a mirror of *L'Astrée*;" TILLEY, *From Montaigne to Molière*, p. 71.

44 *Oeuvres de Madame et de Mademoiselle Deshoulières*, t. I. (preface).

45 BERNARD, *Les d'Urfé en Forez*, pp. 161 ff; BONAFOUS, *Etudes sur Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 247 ff; GERMA, *L'Astrée*, pp. 215 ff; REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 275 ff.

46 "Le rude et hautain ministre (si aimable, corrigerais-je, lorsqu'il voulait séduire) cachait, comme son frère le cardinal de Lyon, un sentimental, un berger de l'Astrée, et qui, parfois versifiant au long des canaux de Ruel (Rueil aujourd'hui), se seuvenait du Lignon, des moutons enrubannés, de toutes les images pastorales qui enchantèrent sa mémoire juvénile;" LÉOPOLD LACOUR, *Le Théâtre politique de Richelieu*, in *La Grande Revue*, March, 1925.

47 "Puisque l'on dit bien des Jarretières de Céladon et des roses à la Parthénice . . ." SORREL, *Hist. comique de Francion*, V, 496.

There have been only two general editions of the *Astrée*, that of 1632-33 and that of 1647, which explains the difficulty in procuring a complete edition of the work. These, however, had been preceded by numerous partial editions, see REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 204 ff.

48 REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé*, p. 277.

d'Urfè of the happy influence of his work, requested him to accept membership in their society and give them the conclusion of the story.[49] The *Astrée* was the first important French contribution to the development of the novel in England in the seventeenth century. An English translation appeared as early as 1611, but the first generally known edition is the "newly translated" First Part in twelve books by John Pyper bearing the date of 1620.[50] Another translation was published in 1657-58, by a "person of quality" with a preface signed J. D.[51] Translations in the principal European languages appeared in the early seventeenth century; in German, 1620; Dutch, 1625; Italian, 1637; Flemish, 1644.[52] In Poland towards the end of the century, John Sobieski, who was not by any means a be-musked knight of the carpet, played at Celadon with Marie d'Arquien as Astrée: . . . "Celadon am I now as in the past; the ardent lover of those first glad days!" he wrote after his marriage.[53]

From this cursory survey of its history, it may be seen what a great part this novel had in the formation of French polite society. Of all similar works published in the seventeenth century in France, none advocated as did the *Astrée* in so marked a manner the peculiarly refined and idealized code which was a distinguishing mark of that society. Court life, such as witnessed by Honoré d'Urfé about 1605, was corrupt in morals, and vulgar

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49 Cf. Lettre escrite à l'autheur (published in *Astrée*, I; it is dated March, 1624).

50 UPHAM, *The French Influence in English Literature*, p. 366. DRUMMOND writing from Paris (1607) describes a beautiful young lady in these terms: "She was said to be the Astraea of the Marquis D'Urfee." (DRUMMOND, Works, ed. Edin., 1711, p. 141, quoted by Upham, Op. cit. p. 366.) John Fletcher was indebted to the *Astrée* in some of his plays, notably *Valentinian*, which follows the narrative of d'Urfé very faithfully and *Monsieur Thomas* which is based on the episode of Celidée, Thamyre and Calydon in *Astrée*, Part II. The Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby appearing in the first half of the seventeenth century related the experiences of this courtier and were based on the plan of d'Urfé in his work, see UPHAM, *The French influence in English Literature*, pp. 365 ff. In 1651 *Astraea* or *True Love's Mirror* by Leonard Willan was published. The author dedicated the play to Mary, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, explaining how she may find her own portrait in Astraea. This masque was an attempt to dramatize certain episodes in the *Astrée* and presupposed great familiarity with the novel, see UPHAM, *Op. cit.*, p. 385 ff.

51 Probably JOHN DAVIS who translated LA CALPRENÈDE'S *Cléopâtre*.

52 Cf. REURE, *Honoré d'Urfé*, pp. 222 ff.

53 ARVÈDE BARINE, *La Grande Mademoiselle*, pp. 93 f.

in tone. The king gave the example of the grossest license, preserving in his circle a remnant of the corruption of the society of the Valois which had been swept away in the civil wars, but whose traditions still survived.[54]

The need of the hour was answered by the appearance of the *Astrée*, a circumstance which partly accounts for its phenomenal success. The romance was opportune, and by holding up to its contemporaries a high ideal of love and friendship, contributed powerfully in raising the moral tone of society in the early part of the century. "Ce que *l'Astrée* apprit surtout à notre sociétè mondaine, ce qu'elle lui apprit sans doute de meilleur, ce fut à causer délicatement de choses sérieuses, nobles et fines. . . ."[55]

As we have seen in the history of his life, Honoré d'Urfé was a member of the League, had experienced the cruelties of war and was one of the last to surrender. He more than any other could feel the need of a new ideal in the hearts of the men of his time. He had been a close friend of St. Francis de Sales, and recognized with him the necessity of giving society an ideal of refinement in speech, of reëstablishing a chivalrous respect for women and a noble and virtuous love. The analogy between the genius of d'Urfé and that of St. Francis de Sales is so marked that there is almost identity of inspiration and of talent between the *Astrée* and the *Introduction à la Vie dévote*.[56]

The appearance of the *Astrée* marks the beginning of an epoch in the gradual raising of the moral tone of Society. We do not claim, however, that vice no longer existed, but at least it

54 The king's retinue had become the "center of the delicate mannerism and the incubating cell of the refinement of vice. Though the civil wars had annihilated the splendid rottenness of the court, the memory of the delicacy of the Valois survived. When peace was declared, when men had leisure to look about them, they were confronted by the rude court of Henry IV. They felt the need of the re-establishment of polite society, but where could they find the elements of such a society? Foreign influence had enervated the national imagination, Spanish literature with its romances of cruel chivalry, its pastorals, and its theatrical dramas, had imbued the Romanticism of France with its poison, and symptoms of moral debility were generally evident. A period of fermentation and expectancy followed war. When civil wars were over the men of France sat waiting; their need was pressing but they could form no idea of its nature." BARINE, *La Grande Mademoiselle*, pp. 93 f.

55 VIANEY, *Hist. lit. franç. illustrée*, I, p. 228.

56 BRUNETIÈRE, *Histoire de la Littérature*, p. 104; MONTÉGUT, *En Bourbonnais*, p. 264.

was more veiled and not so cynically displayed. Thoughtful minds admit that this book has in no little way added in the progress noticeable at the time towards a higher idealism in society and in the literary world. On the other hand, it may be objected that there was exaggeration in this refinement and the expression of it as we find later in the *"Précieuse"* society which soon followed. But the road of gallantry and artificiality had to be traversed before the society of Henry IV and Louis XIII could be transformed into one capable of appreciating the beauty of a close intimacy with Nature without a return to its brutality from which it had barely emerged.[57]

From what precedes it is clear that three phases in the history of the *Astrée* may be distinguished—the period of its unprecedented popularity from its appearance down to the nineteenth century was followed by a period of disfavor. Writers of the nineteenth century with a few exceptions did not read the book, accepting the judgment of such a critic as La Harpe as final,[58] or if they did read the *Astrée* it was in a superficial manner, their mentality and preoccupations leading them in another direction. To be appreciated, the *Astrée* must be studied. The ridicule thrown, at times very unjustly, on the whole *précieux* movement rebounded on the work of d'Urfé, and writers failed to recognize its immense influence on literature and society. The third period, that of its rehabilitation dates from M. F. Brunetière who was the first to call the attention of critics to the importance of the *Astrée* in the formation of the great literature of the seventeenth century. He remarks that in no book was the passion of love better analysed, in its strong, fine, subtle handling of this subject, nor better represented in the infinite variety of its shadings, and he adds that this accounts for the success, not only national but European of the work of d'Urfé. It is, moreover, the reason for the eagerness with which

57 On this, see MONTÉGUT, *En Bourbonnais et en Forez*, pp. 264 ff.

58 J'avoue franchement que jamais je n'ai pu les (romans) lire, non plus que *l'Astrée* quoique beaucoup plus moderne, et malgré la vogue prodigieuse qu'elle avait encore au commencement du dernier siècle. Quelques traits de naïvete, quelques images pastorales que l'on pouvait rechercher dans un temps où l'on manquait de meilleurs modèles, ne peuvent aujourd'hui faire supporter le verbiage et le galimatias, si ce n'est aux philologues de profession . . .

Lycée ou Cours de Littérature, VII, pp. 221 f. (ed. of 1815).

French society of the seventeenth century conformed its customs and manners to it,[59] it is also the explanation why it has retained its superiority in spite of its quaint old style, tender and diffuse, over so many romances—not excepting those of Mme. Sand—which owe to it, unconsciously perhaps, their origin.[60] Since Brunetière's time an increasing interest has been taken in the study of Honoré and his work. Hardly a critic to-day would refuse to acknowledge both the internal merit of the *Astrée* and its great service to French letters.[61] The latest student of the novel does not hesitate to say that without it "notre grande litterature du XVIIe siècle ne serait point ce qu'elle est. C'est un singulier honneur pour d'Urfé que ses peintures aient paru bonnes à nos meilleurs peintres de caractères, et qu'on soit obligé d'étudier *l'Astrée* pour comprendre entièrement Corneille."[62]

In this revival of interest, critics have directed their attention to the literary, psychological and social qualities of the *Astrée*, but to our knowledge, the aesthetic theories of d'Urfé have not yet received their due share of consideration.[63] Yet we might assume almost a priori that he was interested in beauty and art; for as we have seen above, his naturally artistic temperament found ideal opportunities for development from family traditions, surroundings, associations, education and travels. On the other hand, he has woven into the episodes of the *Astrée* practically all questions that interested him and the age in which he lived. These considerations led us to investigate this phase

59 MONTÉGUT had already expressed the view that "si notre littérature . . . nous a transmis des livres d'une composition plus parfaite, elle ne nous en a transmis aucun qui ait joué un rôle plus considérable, et auquel se rattache une rénovation sociale et littéraire plus complète;" *En Bourbonnais et en Forez*, p. 272.

60 BRUNETIÈRE, *La Grande Encyclopédie*, Article *Tragédie; Histoire de la Littérature française*, pp. 104 ff.

61 Cf. BONAFOUS, *Etudes sur l'Astrée*, pp. 247 ff.; GERMA, *L'Astrée*, pp. 215 ff.

62 VIANEY, *La Littérature sous le Règne de Henri IV et pendent la Régence de Marie de Médecis*, in BÉDIER-HAZARD, *Histoire de la Littérature française*, I, 229, 2nd col.

63 GERMA has considered the art with which Honoré has composed the *Astrée* and has given a few pages on its influence on art in general, but does not deal with the deeper aspect of the question.

of his work and we are glad to say that we have discovered such a wealth of material that d'Urfé might be rightly considered as a pioneer in art criticism, and that his views on beauty, if systematized, would almost form a complete manual of aesthetics.

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NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AND THE RESTORATION OF CATHOLICISM IN FRANCE

The history of the restoration of the Church in France is at once complicated and interesting; and the Concordat which sealed an act of restoration destined to fix an epoch in both civil and Church history, could scarcely manifest its import if its story were limited within the narrow confines that mark the advent of the "second spring" for the Church in France, namely, the reconciliation which took place between the Church and France, in the Concordat of 1801. Thus a retrospective survey should be taken of the periods in which contending and far-reaching forces began to act against the Church in France, especially of the last century of the Old Régime; and also of the critical situation that ultimately brought about the collapse of the Church in France at the opening of the French Revolution.

Mourret[1] gives a concise and informing pen-picture of forces influencing the French Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He states that

> The religious situation in the last centuries of the Old Régime was vital and apprehensive. A period which could produce a Bossuet, a Petou, a Mabillon, and a Thomassin, was, from certain angles, apogee. Few periods have confronted greater religious problems and spent more genius solving them. Whether it is the question of the relation of Church and State which was debated in the quarrel of Gallicanism, or the foundations of dogmas and morals which were the subject of dispute in Jansenism; or the complexities of Quietism in which Bossuet and Fénelon touch the delicate questions of asceticism and mysticism; or apologetics, which Pascal attempted to modify. Open the memoirs of the time, and the religious question dominates always. And one is forced to admit that even in the seventeenth century, religion in France was more official than spontaneous, more exterior than deep, more of a mode than of an instinct . . . and it was by such subtle trends that the Old Régime once so permeated with religious sentiment, culminated with the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and with the fatal Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

1 *L'Ancien Régime*, Vol. 1, p. 17.

In the subsequent period,—the period of the French Revolution,—objective forces became working principles against the Church. The French treasury was empty and some resources must be had that the financial crisis might be bridged. The question of confiscating ecclesiastical property was agitated,—as approximately one-third of France was, in 1789, ecclesiastical domain, and the Clergy were exempt from tax. In this financial and economic crisis, the Third Estate merged into the National Assembly having for its leader the ecclesiastic, Sieyès, who through his "Social Theories" influenced the National Assembly to take steps toward abolishing privileges granted to the Clergy.

From its opening the National Assembly appeared to give scope to the discussion of Church property, and it seemed inevitable that the question would be treated from the rationalistic point of view, as four of a committee of twelve laymen chosen to treat the question, were rationalists.[2] It was at this time that Talleyrand, who influenced politics for the subsequent half-century, became conspicuous. As bishop of Autun and member of the higher Clergy, Talleyrand represented the Clergy at the National Assembly. At first he adhered to the Old Régime and maintained that the domains of the Church were intangible, but after associating with Sieyés in the Constituent Assembly, he became active in the measures that led to the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and in the measures bearing upon confiscation of Church domains.[3]

In the meeting of the National Assembly, October 10, 1789, Talleyrand proposed the enacting of a law through which ecclesiastical possessions could be sold as State property with the proviso that the State assure maintainance to the Clergy for being despoiled of goods. The outcome was that Church Property was appropriated by the State and used as security for the issue of assignats; and, as an indemnity, the State agreed to fix and pay the salaries of the Clergy.

But before an indemnity was secured, measures for decatholizing France were advanced by the National Assembly in the legislation known as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. In

2 MOURRET, *L'Église et la Révolution*, p. 90.
3 IDEM, p. 109.

November, 1789, Church property had been confiscated, but a more fatal stroke came in 1790, when through the promulgation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the Church in France was reorganized according to revolutionary principles, and bishops and priests were made a civil body paid by the State and separated from the sovereign control of the Pope.[4] A sequence of this was a decree compelling the Clergy to take an oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the oath being taken by Talleyrand; by Savine, bishop of Viviers, and Jarente of Orleans; by De Brienne, Archbishop of Sens, and Abbé Gregoire, by a portion of the Clergy. The Pope having condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, forbid Catholics taking the Oath of Allegiance and excommunicating "jurying" priests who adhered to the schismatical constitution. It was in this manner that the French Church separated from Rome and that constitutional bishops began functioning in France,—meeting with much hostility from loyal Catholics, who, from the promulgation of the Oath of Allegiance, on—became unwearied opponents of the French Revolution. But the Church in France after having suffered collapse in the opening years of the war, was to witness, in the course of the violent struggle, the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte, who in restoring the Catholic religion in France and in his future relations with the Church, would illustrate what has been aptly called the parodox of his career; who, beginning as the champion of religion, ended as the persecutor of the Pope, and as the violator of his most sacred promises,—hated by Catholics for his violence toward the Holy See; by Jews for his broken promises, and by society at large for his despotism and violation of liberal principles.

Bounaparte, as his name was originally written, was born in Corsica in 1769. The island at that time was under French rule and many prominent Corsicans sent their sons to France to be educated. Napoleon included among these, received at Brienne and Paris a military education, and at the outbreak of the Revolution threw in his lot with the Jacobins and sympathized with revolutionary measures. In the seige of Toulon his skill and strategy in locating artillery effectually, attracted much

4 *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 206.

admiration. In 1796, as a general then but twenty-five years of age, he made the First Italian Campaign the decisive factor of the war. He drove the Austrians out of Italy, and through the Peace of Campo Formico, created four republics within the Italian boundaries,—posing as a deliverer to the Italians in whom for the moment he awakened the desire for a new national life. In June, 1796, the Papal States had been invaded, the Pope had submitted to the invader, and an armistice had been concluded at Bologna,—at which time Pius VI had promised to pay a war indemnity and relinquish famous art treasures.

From Milan, the invader's route then seemed open as far as Rome, and the Directory gave orders to the new Attila to take the city. But Napoleon, aware that the recollection of the Pontifical City violated by his troops would weigh heavily upon his future prestige, convinced the Directory through despatches to Carnot, that the time was inopportune for "chastising the proud city."[5] This strategy prolonged his halt in northern Italy where he chanced to meet one destined to be his future aide-de-camp,—Francois Caçault,—who had been delegated in 1792 to represent the French Republic in Rome and had not returned to France. Caçault seems to have fallen under the spell of Napoleon's magnetic personality, and Napoleon began at once to utilize him. He was sent to Rome under the pretense of surveying the plans of the armistice, but went in reality to have an audience with the Pope. While Caçault tarried in the Holy City, the Directory decided to confer upon Napoleon full power in the diplomatic and military order,—a power that opened the way to his future greatness. Writing to Caçault at this time, Bonaparte appears to have conveyed in the message, the first thought of a concordat: "Tell the Pope," he wrote, "that I ambition more the title of savior than that of destroyer of the Holy See."[6] But the advance seems to have come in an unfavorable time, for the Papacy still hoped that Austrian successes in the war might drive the French from Italy, and thus when Caçault submitted to Cardinal Busca, Secretary of State to the Holy Father, the suggestions of the French General, he found the Cardinal's terms so evasive that

5 MOUBRET: *L'Église et la Révolution*, p. 260.
6 *Correspondance de Napoléon*, Vol. II, p. 99.

an approach to a negotiation seemed impossible, and although Napoleon accepted this treatment with apparent indifference, his exasperation knew no bounds when in June, 1797, a despatch addressed by Cardinal Busca to Monsignor Albini of Austria was seized. The despatch stated that the Court of Rome had decided to protract its terms with France as long as there would be hope for assistance from Austria.[7]

The victory of Rivoli may be said to have achieved the consolidation of Bonaparte's successes in Italy; and, although after that he could have entered the very heart of the Pontifical States, he hesitated and applied himself to underlining the distinctions between the temporal sovereign he was fighting and the spiritual sovereign he felt irresistibly drawn to respect. About this time he wrote to Cardinal Mattei: "Whatever may be the issue, assure the Holy Father that he may remain in Rome without anxiety";[8] and as to non-juring priests who had found refuge in the Papal States, he forbade their being molested,—assuring both them and his army that whoever was peaceful merited the protection of Bonaparte. But in spite of his benevolent declarations, the Pontifical States were subjected to violence, although the spiritual prerogatives of the Holy See were, at that time, left untouched.

During these eventful days for the Holy See, Bonaparte left the Italian peninsula to carry on the Egyptian Campaign of 1798. In Napoleon's absence the Directory declared that he had dealt too leniently with the Pope in simply annexing Papal territory to the Cisalpine Republic, and the Pope was openly attacked and dragged from Rome into exile. France, however, suffered almost immediate reverses, for in 1799, it seemed as though Napoleon's First Italian Campaign had come to naught; the French were driven from Italy, and some of the republics established by them within Italian confines collapsed. In France itself there were increased financial and social disorders, and the Directory had proved a failure.

Whether or not Napoleon had become aware of, or had foreseen this situation, he returned from the Levant to France in

7 MOURRET: *L'Église et la Révolution*, p. 294.
8 *Correspondance de Napoléon*, Vol. II, p. 430.

October, 1799. He came without his army, and without any order from his government; but the Directory was in a state powerless to check his audacity, and the majority of the nation received him as the man of the hour. Within a month of his return from Egypt, public opinion enabled him to abolish the Directory, create a consulate, and to appoint himself First Consul of the new French Republic.

At the time of these sweeping changes, foreign dangers were confronting France. The second Coalition had undone the settlement of Campo Formio and had possessed themselves of Italy and a part of the Rhine valley. War within the French confines was imminent, but Napoleon leading an army over the passes of the Alps down into the valley of the Po, defeated the Austrians at Marengo in June 1800, regaining by this decisive victory the northern part of Italy for France, and forcing Austria to sue for peace in the treaty of Lunéville which reaffirmed the broken treaty of Campo Formio.

On March 13, 1800, three months prior to the victory of the French at Marengo and only a few months after the fall of the Directory, Cardinal Chiaramonti ascended the Papal throne as Pius VII. To the Church-suffering during the rule of the Directory, the prospect of restoring France to the fold seemed hopeless, but after 18, Brumaire and the rise of Napoleon there was a marked cessation of hostile activity on the part of the Republic toward the Papacy. Within the Republic itself there was also a change of attitude. The government began to accept, in place of the oath of allegiance, the mere promise of fidelity to the Constitution, and, under this favorable modification, exiled non-juring priests were returning secretly to France. As to religious tendencies of the French people, the provinces and the humble classes in the cities had remained loyal to the Church, and in the violent course of the Revolution, sympathy for non-juring Clergy had been constant. It was becoming more and more evident not only that the success of the new Republic but the unification of the nation as well depended largely upon the settlement of the religious question, and Napoleon seemed disposed to make it a definitive issue while still within the Italian frontiers and after his successes at Marengo, he began to consider ways and means to further his plans; and to give back to France through

some medium and under some objective form, religious peace, two ways were evidently open to him; either he could render to the faithful the churches not yet alienated, and abolishing all laws of exception let the Religion restore itself; or he could negotiate with the Holy See in the interest of France and future tranquility, and on the reciprocal rights of Church and State. Of the two ways, the latter seemed by force of circumstances the course to pursue; for the Old Régime lived on even after its fall; and although oftener in discord than harmony, civil and religious society did not believe they could be separated without a violent break. As to the first way, a free Church in a free State might prove disastrous, for out of the Revolution the Church had emerged rent in two; on the one side, the schismatical, on the other, the orthodox, and liberty of controversy, Napoleon concluded, could and would, but revive religious dissensions to the detriment of national unity.[9]

That Bonaparte decided to follow the second policy may be inferred from the Vercilli episode. At Vercilli he conferred with Cardinal Martiniana, and before leaving the Italian frontiers for Paris, delegated him to convey to the Pope his partially arranged plan for a religious and civil peace. His terms were that the Roman Catholic faith should be dominant in France; that all bishops, both juring and non-juring would resign their sees so that the First Consul could reduce the number of dioceses, and nominate, according to the Concordat of 1516, bishops to the newly arranged episcopates. The acceptance of such terms, he assured Cardinal Martiniana, would secure for bishops a salary of 15,000 francs each, to compensate them for the loss of Church property confiscated.[10] But in spite of Napoleon's fair proposal, three months elapsed before active measures were taken. The delay was due to negotiations between France and Austria, and, on the Roman side, to a lack of trust in Napoleon's sincerity. Later the negotiations were destined to suffer not only delay but divergences as well,—before touching in a Concordat a definite conclusion.

9 De la Gorce: *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française*, Vol. V, p. 25.
10 *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 181.

Accounting for the clash between the French Republic and the Roman Curia on the occasion of a projected concordat, De la Gorce points out what may be considered a fundamental obstacle to a conciliation of views and ideas,—an obstacle that resided in the deep differences of those who were to discuss the treaty. According to De la Gorce.[11]

> The Romans and the French had lived in spheres so opposite that if they did speak the same language the words had a different meaning: for in those two worlds were personified on the one side, the Old World,—Italy; and on the other, the new world,—France. Rome with its "zelanti" of the Old Régime; Paris with its tenets of free thought. It was the "opposites" of these two worlds that gave a chequered career to the policies underlying the Concordat, and, when, finally, the treaty was signed, it was not because of a conciliation of views and ideas, but rather because of the conviction that France and the Church could no longer be separated.

On his return to France after the Vercelli conference, Napoleon, in spite of his optimism, felt quite alone in his desire for religious peace. In Paris, the Senate stirred by Sieyès showed much hostility and it was everywhere evident, (as Napoleon remarked) that the Revolutionary lava had not yet solidified; in the army, the leaders regarded war against the Clergy as patriotism; factions were muzzled rather than subdued; and as to the intelligentsia, they seemed as much entrenched in irreligion as they were disabused of political liberty.

It was not long after his return that the orientation of the First Consul's new moves filtered into France. First to reach Paris was the import of the discourse at Milan, in which he had told the Milanese Clergy that the French people were of the same religion as they; then the "Te Deum" had been sung after the victory of Marengo. Moreover, notices in journals were revealing the drift of his messages to the Pope,—messages so conciliatory as to point to a Napoleonic reaction toward a reconciliation with Rome,—all of which policies created much unrest, open resistance, however, being out of the question.

11 De la Gorce: *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française*, Vol. V, p. 56.

In autumn of 1800, Napoleon took active measures to advance his policy. He seems to have transformed his first project of religious restoration into an interprise of order and social safeguard, for in the Council of State he expressed himself in unmistakable terms: "My policy," he declared, "is to govern men as the greater number wish to be governed. It is, I believe, the true way of recognizing the sovereignty of the people. It is in making myself Catholic that I have finished the wars of Vendée; in making myself Mussulman that I have won the heart of Egypt. If I had to govern a nation of Jews I would re-establish the Temple of Solomon."[12]

About this time the First Consul decided upon a negotiation which he would not consent to have carried on within the Italian confines and transferred it to Paris. The Pope could not but acquiesce. The policy of deference toward the Holy See would have been to send to Rome a representative to treat with delegates of the Pope; the policy of equality should have been the treating of the affair at Vercelli where the first conference had been held, and which city was equidistant from its foci, Rome and Paris. But fixing Paris as the center, placed every situation under the influence and control of the dictator, and in the proceedings he could, at will, add or efface, confirm or disavow, according to the interest of his policies.

On September 21, 1800, Pius VII had delegated Monsignor Spina to Vercilli to take part in the anticipated negotiations. He was accompanied by the learned Servite, Caselli. Upon the decision of the First Consul to change the place of meeting, Talleyrand informed Cardinal Martiniana of the transfer by sending Monsignor Spina passports to Paris. On November 5, 1800, Spina and Caselli reached Paris, and found that Napoleon was, (as he had felt himself to be), quite alone in favoring a policy for a religious settlement. Two political powers, Talleyrand and Fouché, were bitterly opposing every measure that led to it; and Grégoire, a constitutional priest in the diplomatic service of Napoleon, was too hostile to the Church to take part in negotiations that might involve measures detrimental to the juring clergy. But the First Consul was not intimidated by antagon-

12 *Lettres Inédites de Napoléon*, p. 20.

istic forces around him, and, upon Spina's arrival, determined to begin negotiations to be pursued, in order that strife with the Church might cease and the Pope become his ally.

When the Pope ordered Spina to Paris, he instructed him to discuss only the points raised at Vercelli, and he was to sign no documents. On arriving Spina was received by the First Consul in audience and in successive conferences with Napoleon and the Gallican, Brenier, discussed the vital questions of re-establishing the Roman Catholic Religion as dominant in France; of the Pope acquiescing in the confiscation of Church Property, and recognizing the alienation of confiscated goods. Within three weeks, the negotiations had all but touched a conclusion, but Spina destroyed the possibility of an immediate agreement by refusing to sanction a promise of fidelity to the government; and parallel with this Napoleon's diplomacy began to complicate matters,—at one time pressing one measure and withdrawing another, then withdrawing both and insisting on a third,—until it was evident that the negotiations had become intricate, and would be indefinitely prolonged.[13]

By January 1801, however, Napoleon had formulated his demands in a new plan. The new draft contained new articles, and in it the phrase "dominant religion" was replaced by the clause: "The Consuls recognized the Roman Catholic Religion as the religion of the majority of Frenchmen"; the other provisions were: that the sees of bishops who refused to resign at the Pope's request, were to be declared "ipso facto" vacant; that Church lands, sold or unsold, were not to be restored to the Church; that married constitutional clergy were to be recognized as laymen in communion with the Church; and finally, that the Clergy were to take the oath of fidelity to the government. On January nineteenth, the new plan was presented to Spina, but as he had no authority to sign a document, and would not have been disposed to sign this if he had, his diplomatic relations with the French government virtually came to an end. He refused to put his signature to the draft convention whereupon Talleyrand formally announced that since the agent for the Holy Father either re-

13 *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 183.

fused or could not act in the name of the Holy See, his presence in Paris from that time on would be useless.[14]

It was at this time, that Spina, anxious to relieve himself of all direct responsibility, transferred the negotiations to Rome. His courier, Palmoni, burdened with papers left for Rome on February 26, 1801, and simultaneous with his departure, Napoleon decided to appoint as minister in Rome one whom he knew would advance his policy:—Caçault. Caçault was to treat with Pius VII, and with all deference, demand both a prompt answer from His Holiness and unreserved acceptance of Napoleon's terms as they stood. But the art of procrastination,[15] became a working principle in Pius VII's policy, and the French project submitted by him to two congregations, was destined to suffer through their deliberations, not only delay but modifications as well—in the course of negotiations that led up to the Concordat.

On April 7, 1801, a congregation of twelve Cardinals met for the first time to discuss the French situation, and from the beginning of the meeting great difficulties were involved. The bond of unity between the French Church and Rome had been severed by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790 and had not been closed since; bishoprics in France were held and controlled by constitutional bishops, and canonical investiture and Church property were in the hands of laymen,—grave enough conditions, Consalvi declared, to demand a general council.[16] On the eighth of April Caçault had arrived at the Vatican and had had an audience with the Pope. Giving an account of it to the First Consul, Caçault was impartial in stressing the fact that Rome had at heart the desire of terminating quickly the negotiations, but that the importance of an act that would have so vital an issue would necessitate consultation and reflection. It was not until the twelfth of May that the Pontifical congregation finished a project and gathered together all parts of the negotiations. The plan thus completed was the French project formulated into a counter-project based on an alternative plan that had been sent along with Napoleon's terms. The counter-project was supplemented with an explanatory memoir justifying the

14 De la Gorce: *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française*, Vol V, p. 96.
15 *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 183.
16 Alzog: *Universal Church History*, vol. iii, p. 655.

amendments, and in it, statements involving recognition of the constitutional clergy were rejected; sanctioning confiscation of Church property was regarded as sanctioning the teaching of heretics,—but the Pope could give a dispensation to present occupants; the clause "dominant religion" was sacrificed, providing the Roman Catholic Religion were established as the religion of the State: and it was also urged that if the First Consul were to have the right of nominating to vacant sees, this proviso was imperative in order to avoid offending the Czar of Russia and the Kings of England and Prussia to whom a similar right had been refused because they were not Catholics. Then, too, French bishops had wished to resign in 1791, and advantage might now be taken of that offer, and refusal would entail the sin of "detestable irreverence," which would justify the deprivation of the offender, an opportunity to the Pope to assert the superiority of the Pope to General Councils; for even though the Fourth Lateran Council had forbidden the Clergy to take oaths, the Pope was now willing to sanction an oath of fidelity to the government.[17]

The Roman Curia anxious to have a settlement, finally sanctioned the counter-project, and Palmoni reached Paris with it only after the First Consul, vexed with delays, had resorted to violent measures, and had, through Talleyrand, dispatched an ultimatum to Rome which reached Caçault on the twenty-eighth of May. Caçault notified the Pope of its import, but Pius VII was resolute in declaring that he had granted Napoleon all that should be asked of him. Writing an account of the audience to the First Consul, Caçault could only assure him of the Pope's determination to grant no more concession, adding that "one might annihilate the Court of Rome, but one could never hope to change its policies or its dogmas."[18] With the Ultimatum an order also came that if in the course of five days the Pope had not adopted without modification the French plans, Caçault was to leave Rome and retire to Florence. To defer his departure was not in his power, and Caçault well understood the danger of a rupture. It would mean vanquished hopes of religious peace; Italy given

17 *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 183.
18 *Ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 183.

over again to the Revolution; the Papal Court thrown through fear toward extreme parties.[19] In this crisis, Caçault decided that although he would obey orders and leave Rome, Artaud, his secretary, could remain and keep in touch with Roman affairs. To further the policy of peace he advised Cardinal Consalvi to go to Paris and treat personally with the First Consul. Whether it was the import of the Ultimatum or Caçault's suggestion, Cardinal Consalvi, the Papal Secretary of State, arrived in Paris June 20, 1801, where he joined Archbishop Spina at the Hôtel de Rome. He found affairs in Paris of such a nature that the outcome could only be a definite agreement, or the alternative,—a definite rupture. Bonaparte, however, received Consalvi with marks of deference, and on June 21, 1801, the negotiations were resumed.

In the course of the conference, as was anticipated, Napoleon refused to abate the demands he had made in January, and on July eleventh Consalvi drafted a counter-project in which he realized that the concessions he had been obliged to make were so many and vital, that, obviously, the opposite were meeting,—a counter-project, recognized by Bernier, however as consistent with Gallican liberties.[20] On July 13, the French plenipotentiaries, Joseph Bonaparte, Cretet, and Bernier, met the Papal envoys and submitted to them a project quite different from Consalvi's in that it contained new proposals regarding police regulations on the liberty of worship, but Consalvi offered such opposition to the new proposals that the more objectionable amendments were withdrawn; and concentrating his resistance on four points, Consalvi insisted on having a clause inserted in the treaty which would mark the profession of the Catholic faith of the government; a clause in which there would be publicity of the cult; demanded that the clause relative to the married constitution clergy should be modified or suppressed; and finally demanded that the oath taken to the government should be reduced to a promise of fidelity.

This plan was submitted to the First Consul July 14, who, after reading its provisions, destroyed it declaring he could man-

19 Artaud: *History of Pius VII*, Vatican Edition, Vol. VIII, p. 60.
20 De la Gorce: *Histoire de la Révolution Religieuse Française*, Vol. V, p. 168.

age very well without the Pope's interference; but later, persuaded by the Austrian minister, Napoleon accepted the Concordat July 15, 1801, and the plenipotentiaries signed it,—through which signatures a convention that had had eight months of negotiations and two threats of rupture was converted into a treaty that was recorded in the official style of the day as the "Convention du Messidor On IX."—and which posterity was to know as "The French Concordat of 1801."

The Concordat containing seventeen articles defining the rights of the Church; dealing with the question of nomination to benefices, and with the formation of new dioceses; and providing for a new Concordat should any future First Consul not be a Catholic, set forth the following provisions:

I. The Roman Catholic Religion being that of the majority of Frenchmen, shall be freely practiced in France and subject to no restrictions except police regulations intended to preserve order and public peace.

II. The Holy See acting in concert with the government shall define the boundaries of new dioceses. The Pope shall inform lawful bishops of old dioceses that in the interests of peace and unity he confidently hopes they will resign their sees; should they refuse, he will take no notice of their action, but proceed to fill the newly-created sees with incumbents.

III. The First Consul shall make all nominations to archbishoprics and bishoprics, and the Holy See shall confer canonical institution. Before entering upon the functions of their offices, bishops and ecclesiastics of the second rank shall take the oath of allegiance according to the *ordinary form* (that is, according to the formula in use under the Old Régime).

IV. Bishops shall establish the boundaries of parishes within their respective dioceses,—subject, however, to the authorization of the government. Bishops shall have the right of appointing pastors, but shall select none obnoxious to the government.

V. The Pope has promised that neither he nor his successors will disturb those in possession of ecclesiastical estates seized and sold as national property during the Revolution; and on his part the First Consul has pledged in the name of the government, to make adequate provisions for bishops and priests.

Acting in accordance with these provisions, the Pope in the bull, "Qui Christi Domini," called upon bishops holding sees in France under lawful title but at the time living in exile,—to resign their sees. Of the eighty in those ranks, all but thirty-six resigned. The fifty-nine constitutional bishops having no alternative also resigned.

In Rome, the provisions of the Concordat met with both opposition and acceptance. But after serious reflection Pius VII decided to ratify them—delineating his reasons for doing so in a brief dated August 15, 1801.[21] Later Cardinal Caprara was empowered as Legate "a latere" to France, to carry out every provision of the Concordat, to establish new bishoprics, and to grant indulgences in the same manner as they are granted on occasion of jubilees.[22]

In France, the execution of the Concordat met with two obstacles. The first obstacle resided in the disposition of the higher clergy who had emigrated; the second, in the opposition of France itself. The higher clergy were at first roused to revolt but finally took refuge in contemptuous silence; the revolutionary element of France, however, was more scientifically coördinated, and proved powerful enough to intimidate the First Consul to delay for more than six months the publication of the famous act; and when at last it was published, the Organic Articles were grafted to it,—concentrating in their provisions the hostilities of those who opposed the Concordat, and the same instant furnishing Napoleon a safeguard against future policies of the Court of Rome.

The Organic Articles appear to have been issued after a somewhat retrospective survey on the part of Napoleon: He reflected that the kings of France under the legists and the parlements had at one time or another usurped the rights of theologians, and he proposed to follow their policy. With his marvelous gift of assimilation, Napoleon had formed judgments on Bousset and on Gallicanism as interpreted in its definite and official formula: The Declaration of the Clergy of 1682. Then, too, in his present attitude of defense, no doctrine seemed more

21 CAPRARA: *Le Concordat et Receuil des Bulles et Brefs de N. S. P. Le Pape Pie*, VII, p. 201.
22 ALZOG: *Universal Church History*, Vol. III, p. 658.

to the purpose than that which, at the end of the seventeenth century had annulled the last vestige of Papal temporal sovereignty and had repudiated all interference of the Church in temporal affairs. To rejuvenate these maxims, Bonaparte's plan seems to have been to fix the place of the Church as subordinate; and the Organic Laws with their provisions that no bulls, briefs, or legates from Rome could enter France without the permission of the government accomplished his design of making the State supreme over the Church.

On April 5, 1802, the Organic Articles were ratified with the view of rendering the Concordat less objectionable to the "Corps legislatif" by which it was ratified. In substance the Laws contained the following definitive articles relative to Catholicism:

> I. No bulls, briefs, or mandate, no provision or enactment of ary kind whatever, coming from the Holy See, even should these refer only to individual and single cases, shall be received or published or printed, or carried into effect without leave of the government.
>
> II. Bishops shall be amenable for misdemeanors to the Consul of State, which if a case be made against the arraigned, shall be competent to pass a vote of censure (declaration d'abus).
>
> III. Professors in seminaries shall teach the Four Articles of the Declaration of the French Clergy (the Gallican articles of 1682): and bishops shall inform the Minister of Public Worship of their various engagements.
>
> IV. No synod may be held in France without leave of the government. Priests having charge of canonical chapels shall be removable without canonical process.
>
> V. On the death of a bishop, his see shall be administered by his metropolitan, or, he failing, by the senior bishop of the province. Vicars-general shall continue to exercise the functions of their office after the death of the bishop and until his successor has been appointed.
>
> VI. The parish registers shall be valid evidence as to the reception of the Sacraments, but shall not be accepted as proof of what is purely a civil matter.

The Organic Articles had been expressly reserved until the bulls relative to the Concordat had been issued, and Pius VII protested, but to no avail, that these Laws had not been submitted to him. While the Concordat had been approved by Napo-

leon on July 16, 1801, and by Pius VII August 11, 1801,—signatures were not exchanged until April 18, 1802,—on which date the reconciliation of the Church and France was solemnly celebrated in the famous church of Notre Dame.

The Concordat of 1801 with this counterpart, the Organic Articles remained in force until the Law of 1905 abrogated it in the separation of Church and State in France; and the Concordat even though limited by the Organic Code is said to have assured to Catholicism in France a hundred years of peace.

As to Napoleon's afterthought of it, he is credited with having said,—while a prisoner at St. Helena, and when disillusionment had freed him from motives that would disguise his real thought:

"I have never regretted signing the Concordat. By that signature, fallen altars have been raised, disorders checked, and the faithful pledged to pray for the Republic. The Concordat has dissipated the scruples of those who have acquired national domains, and has broken the last thread by which the old dynasty maintained communications with the country."

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MISCELLANY

ON AND AROUND THE PEDREGAL

In the center of the Valley of Mexico, and about eight miles south of the City of Mexico, lies that remarkable field of lava called the Pedregal, or stony place. It is about six miles long, and somewhat less in breadth, extending from San Angel on the north to Tlalpam at its other extremity. This basaltic rock is in places smooth, then again it has sunk, forming holes, some of which extend as far as one can see. Enormous quantities of gases have caused bubbles in the lava and, elsewhere, great caves. The result of all this titanic action is the veritable chaos that we now see. Doubtless some of the Indians can find their way through this appalling Dantesque solitude, just as some trappers could traverse the *mauvaises terres* of Dakota. One would not care to venture the experience in either place, even with a guide.

There have been different lava flows at varying intervals, supposedly from Mount Ajusco, some five miles south of Tlalpam, the different deposits superimposed, the one on the other, as any one may readily see from the wrinkles formed in the rock during the process of cooling. The total thickness of the lava varies from twenty to fifty feet. But lava streams have flowed from different sources, the whole district is volcanic, and some consider the Valley of Mexico to be the floor of an extinct volcano, the mountains which surround it being its walls.

It is remarkable, though, how Nature will clothe some of the most unpromising wastes, although the bad lands aforesaid and the now exposed bed of Lake Texcoco here seem to puzzle her. We saw the Pedregal some hours ago, covered sparsely with rough grasses and weeds, whilst mesquite bushes, aloes, and giant cactus seemed to flourish.

For, after a year's absence, we again visited the pyramid at Tlalpam. Work on it has been suspended, though a caretaker presumably lives in one of the crude huts, formed of masses of basalt, and roofed with corrugated iron. A couple of dogs appeared, as well as a notice-board placed there by the Anthropological Society, advising people to keep their animals away, and not to meddle with the tools.

Last spring, and for some years previously, the excavations on and around the pyramid were carried out under the active supervision of Professor Byrne Cummings of the University of Arizona, a lithe, active man in the prime of life, giving a mass of valuable information to our visiting party. One lady made comparisons with what she had seen of the dolmans in Brittany and the lava-flow in Hawaii, and a gentleman from Ohio was reminded of the famous antiquities of his State.

Mr. Cummings has worked down thirty feet below the surface of the Pedregal to the base of the pyramid, which is of great size, circular, or rather oval in shape, and cased in stone, beautifully laid. In the trench at the base of this great erection are several courses of rock, of unknown purpose.

The casing of the pyramid is of large masses of uncut rock, of course without mortar, and about four feet in thickness, the body of the vast pile being filled with ordinary clay.

The sides of the pyramid rise at an angle of about 45°, and there are four different courses, with promenades above each, covered with well-pressed clay. One of these we found to be thirty feet broad, another only six. The lowest course is the largest, that above it shows the best masonry. The upper course is unlike the others, being a great erection of clay and stone, some of the latter being of more ancient lava than the Pedregal.

Here has been exposed what seems to be a huge altar of clay, its sides formed of huge boulders, rounded by the action of water. Mr. Cummings said that he had come on a sharp-edged obsidian knife in the middle of this, such as was anciently used by the priests for sacrificial purposes.

In one place appears a fine conduit, made to drain the upper portions of the pyramid.

There is evidence that the whole has been formerly submerged, presumably by the damming up of the Valley of Mexico.

Several shallow strata of fine earth are to be seen alternating with the layers of clay, supposed to be either volcanic dust or deposit from standing water.

The pyramid, be it understood, is not of the shape of the pyramids at Gizah, or of those at San Juan Tenochtitlan, those famous Toltec monuments. It does not, like them, terminate in a peak, it is truncated, and has a wide space on the summit, being, in that respect, somewhat like the pyramid at Cholula, the largest in the world. Seen from the distance, the Tlalpam pyramid is disappointing; but it is undoubtedly the most interesting one in Mexico. Yet few people seem to know of it.

Beneath the base of the pyramid were found ornaments of jade, pottery, and traces of three separate cultures of some forgotten races, long anterior to the Toltecs and Aztecs. You can see from the top of the Tlalpam monument many smaller pyramids of these recent races; but Mr. Cummings and his like find little interest in them.

He spoke of encountering various fragments of human remains; that very morning he had come on a skeleton.

The lava had flowed around the pyramid from either side, piling up to a great height where the two streams had met, as could clearly be seen. Some of this lava shows clearly that it has run into water.

It is held that this lava-flow occurred not less than two thousand years ago. Who could these ancient architects have been?

It is remarkable that the Pedregal can be put to other uses than that of a quarry. One knows of fertile fields and gardens formed on its apparently unpromising surface. Earth has collected in the hollows in the course of ages, water-borne, wind-borne, or formed by the erosion of the rock. Even close to our pyramid one saw that a patch of corn had been cultivated.

Mr. Terry in his Guide Book recommends Don Manuel Gamio's book, *El Hombre del Pedregal*. From such an erudite author, this should be deeply interesting and instructive. To save possible enquirers from labor and disappointment, we will state our own experience; one got very courteously passed on in the City of Mexico from one famous library to another in search of this elusive treasure; it is passing strange that neither the National Library nor that of the Depart-

ment of Education can produce it. A friend once had it—and lent it to some one or other—with misplaced confidence. However . . .

As to Tlalpam itself, it is the deadest place conceivable. True, out toward the pyramid there are several large factories and various public institutions: a military hospital, an imposing reformatory. But on the other side the railway track, on the town side, you wander through empty cañyons, the walls of the various orchards or gardens towering eighteen feet above you. Above these, though, you see the tops of towering ashes, pines, and eucalyptuses, and at the entrance gateways you may catch a glimpse of the oranges, the geraniums, and the generous, well-tended space so carefully guarded from the common herd. The proprietors doubtless know their own people. On the wall of one such property was a plaque setting forth that that valiant warrior Morelos, who won for the Mexicans their liberty, had been imprisoned there. He was the last victim of the Mexican Inquisition—in 1816, was it not? Facing the plain stone Municipal Palace, which was erected in 1907, is a bust of Morelos' compeer, Hidalgo, with the dates: 1810, 1910, the dates of the inauguration and the continuation of our precious revolutions.

On another side the plaza is the vast neglected atrium, full of weeds and rubbish pits, beyond which is the uninteresting façade of the church, which was built here in 1532, a Dominican house subsidiary to the parent convent at Coyoacan. Opening from one side of the church is the square yard, surrounded by an upper and lower cloister, a reproduction of that of the mother house. The interior of this church consists of a nave separated from the aisles by four massive columns on either side, but not so hideous as those great square pillars at Coyoacan, now, at long length, being demolished. There is a new Sacred Heart chapel on one side, springing from the left aisle and, by the side of the high altar, a lady-chapel with a gorgeous *Churruerguesque* reredos, the only pleasing relic of olden days which those puritanical classic "restorers" have left us. The Spanish clock was moved here from the Cathedral in the City in 1830.

Doubtless the affluent proprietors of those great *huertas*—orchard or garden is not an adequate rendering—are content enough, shut off from us by those forbidding walls—*odi profanum vulgus*—but we can not agree with Mr. Terry that this is "one of the most picturesque of the city's suburban places;" let us consider some which really merit that description.

But first figure that ghastly flooding of this whole district, to which the Nahoa theogony testifies, that tremendous cataclasm, "water covering the whole earth, the men turned into fishes": The plate of this in the Vatican shows an inundation, a man on a house seeking succor, the fishes, a single pair saved in a canoe, the goddess Matlacueye descending, and a giant stretched out dead. (Vatican Codex 3738.)

Chavero says that this probably refers to the pachyderms, whose bones are found in great numbers in the Valley of Mexico.

"The plain surrounded by these mountains was once covered with large lakes as is evident from the deep lacustrian deposits of clay and lime and volcanic matter." (Ezequiel Ordonez.)

Charles V gave all the lands about the Pedregal, that is to say, the extensive dependencies of Coyoacan, to Cortes, after the conquest. The Church was then an integral part of Government, controlled by it, and supported by the State. No missionaries, no Religious Orders, could go to New Spain without the sanction of the King. We find, then, the Conqueror active in establishing religious teachers on his possessions.

In 1529 he founded this convent of St. John the Baptist, where this is written, at Coyoacan, on the side of the plaza opposite his own palace. It was placed in charge of the Dominicans and, though the Franciscans now occupy it, you may see the Dominican arms and dog in the temple, which, however, was not commenced until 1583.

Offshoots of this mother house were established at Tlalpan, at the south end of the Pedregal, and at Tenanitla at its northern extremity. This latter station was dedicated to San Jacinto, a close associate of the Founder of the Order of Preachers, the bull of whose canonization reached Mexico in 1596, which marks the foundation of the establishment. How the village of San Jacinto Tenanitla changed its name to the present San Angel, we shall see later.

The writer had a house there for years, and used to worship in this old temple. But he has been guided in this treatise by the excellent and painstaking History of San Angel, brought out a dozen years ago by Sr. Francisco Fernandez del Castillo, a resident of the place, and published by the National Museum of Archeology, History, and Ethnology. The book is out of print, but we were fortunate enough to get the loan of it from "a celebrated archæologist and philologist," resident here.

To return to the San Jacinto church at San Angel. It stands on the San Jacinto plaza, but a short way removed from the double main Plaza del Carmen, so named from the Carmelite church hard by. Mr. Terry in his excellent Mexican Guide brusquely brushes this temple aside with a: "The tourist will hardly be paid for the time spent in examining this church, which is now but a simulacrum of its former self."

To reach the church of a Sunday, we used to worm our way through the throng outside, which Mr. Terry characterises thus:

"On Sundays the Indians of the adjacent hills assemble . . . and hold an open-air *tianguiz* just as did their progenitors centuries ago. Impromptu tents or awnings (*toldos*) are rigged up, *petates* (straw mats) are spread upon the sidewalk, and scores of straw-hats, crates of pottery, rolls of cloth, piles of charcoal, vegetables, fruits, and Indian knick-knacks are exposed for sale. Chattering Indian matrons, expostulating dogs, tuneful burros, ringing church-bells, and strident-voiced venders impart anything but a peaceful air to the locality."

But this motley scene had its value, recalling as it did the long ago.

The church is seen at the end of a great walled-in atrium, which, however, is but a portion of the original square. On this, Sr. Castillo says:

"It is well-known that the atria served, during the first days of Spanish rule, for the preaching of doctrine by those admirable Franciscans, followed later by the Dominicans and other Orders. . . . In the extensive cemeteries the Christian doctrine was expounded to the Indians. . . . After the doctrine, the

friars said mass for the catechumens at an altar placed at the foot of the cross. To contain such a multitude is one of the reasons for the immense size of the atria at Coyoacan and elsewhere.

"As we know, and is but natural, not all the Indians actually accepted the religion of Christ. . . . How could they abandon the ancestral gods and their venerated rites? . . . . Besides, they thought they saw certain points of contact between theirs and the new religion.

"The cross, though not the same, seemed to them that of *Quetzalcoatl*, and this in great measure served to complete the conquest; and in *Quetzalcoatl*, the good and just god, they found a representation of Jesus Christ and St. John the Baptist; in the Virgin, they thought they saw *Toci*, 'our grandmother,' . . . And did not the priests say that the Host and the wine were the blood and body of the Saviour? With an appalling confusion they thought that the Christian communion resembled the monstrous feasts of human flesh which, with equal devotion and appetite, they had celebrated with the corpses of their war-prisoners, sacrificed on the bloody altars of their insatiable gods."

Above the plaza del Carmen is the handsome spacious Plaza of San Jacinto. Around this run all the tram cars; here the numerous competing camions have their station, underselling the former.

On the left of the upper side of this square you may enter an ample archway which gives onto a broad flagged court of cloister. Ascending a flight of stone stairs to the right, you come on the well-kept little double cloister, the inner court gay with roses and geraniums, and boasting some fine trees. In the lower cloister you find two altars. Proceeding, you enter the church, a well-restored nave of no particular artistic attraction, with the exception of the *Churruerguesque* high altar which has mercifully resisted the hands of the iconoclasts.

When we were last there, on the 10th of September, 1925, they were preparing this altar for the celebration of the Forty Hours devotion, to begin on the morrow.

Leaving the temple by the main entrance, we emerged into the spacious walled-in atrium, a delightful abandoned riot of grasses and flowers and towering ashes, a large cross hung with a winding-sheet occupying the center. Facing the red façade of the church, a bell-tower rises to the left and, high up in a niche, is the headless figure of one knows not what worthy. From a great wooden stand on the ground depended a solid bell of brass, which, according to a notice on the wall, had been made to celebrate the Eucharistic Congress of October, 1924, and was to be blessed the next day. There is an inscription on it in Spanish, not very easy to decipher, for some of the figures and letters are written backwards.

Emerging from the atrium, we come into the broad space where the Sunday markets already mentioned used to have place. This would not be feasible now, for the central triangular space between two roadways is fenced in as a playground for the two schools, for boys and girls respectively, which abut onto the street. Here they have eight swings, with good solid chains, and a chute, down which the children slide, with great advantage to the tailors, and joy to the hilarious young ones.

But about the middle of the eighteenth century, our little convent was absorbed into the great Carmelite establishment which has given its name to the former Tenanitla, not without causing dire heartburnings, as we shall see. Even in its decay this erstwhile magnificent foundation is the most arresting object in San Angel, lovely and flowering though the gay little town be, so we will devote some space to its consideration.

Ten Reformed Carmelites: four priests, three choir-brethren, and three lay-brothers, arrived in the City of Mexico in 1585, where they were ceded a house and a church by some Franciscans, receiving their daily bread from a charitable lady.[1] Her family once became so poor that scarce a handful of flour remained in the bin. Notwithstanding, the lady proposed to use that little for the friars and, opening the bin, she was astonished and overjoyed to find it full of the very best flour.

This is like a story of the Venerable Père Jean Baptiste Vianney and his orphan girls, which an old woman narrated to the writer at Ars more than half a century ago.

During the last years of the sixteenth century various people gave lands at the present San Angel for the new Carmelite foundation, the chief benefactor being Dr. Andrés de Mondragon, surgeon-barber to the secret prison of the Inquisition, receiving $100 for two years' service. (National Archives of 1576.) He and his wife paid $1,400 for the property, which seems to have been five miles around, and begirt by a high wall. On his wife's death, Dr. Mondragon became a Carmelite, giving all his property to the Order.

Wherever you may go in Mexico you will find the Carmelite churches among the most beautiful, and many of them date from about the period we are considering. They seem to have been blessed with a succession of able architects. Amongst these was one Andrés de San Miguel, who joined the Order as a lay-brother at Puebla in 1598, at the age of twenty-one. (Known as Fr. Pablo Antonio del Niño Jesus.) He was somewhat of a mathematical genius and close and earnest student, so much so that, during his forty-six years in the Order, he was considered the leading authority in the country in mathematics, mechanics, and hydraulics. His works were unpublished and, on the despoiling of the religious houses, they were presumably removed to the Public Library in the City. They treated of the draining of Lake Texcoco, which has but recently been accomplished, of the plants and fruits at their San Angel college, and of "the merit of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary mathematically demonstrated," which surely should be a portentous work.

Our architect had already constructed three worthy churches when the Provincial directed him to undertake the erection of the college, convent, and church of the San Angel Carmen, or rather of the parish of San Jacinto Tenanitla; the name San Angel came later. The first stone was laid in the summer of 1615, and the work was completed two years later, at a cost of $40,000, and dedicated to San Angelo the Martyr.

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1 All these data come from the Ms. Archives of the Carmelite House at San Angel.

Naturally this important establishment, beautiful even in its extant remains, speedily eclipsed the poor little Dominican house, gradually replacing the name of the latter by its own. The Friars Preachers left the village about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Carmelites it seems constructed dams on the two streams that traversed their property, for purposes of irrigation; but the jealous *cura* stirred up the Indians, telling them the friars were stealing their water, and led them on, equipped with clubs and pick-axes, to the destruction of the work. The rector turned the other cheek, a thorough pacifist, the works that he constructed and reconstructed being demolished four different times. (Historia de San Angel, del Castillo, Chap. VI.)

The Provincial gathered a chapter there. But hardly had the sermon begun than the *cura* and his Indians appeared, and stayed the proceedings by their braying. This they repeated again and again, till the mayor of Coyoacan chased them out at the sword's point.

The *cura* was later deprived of the parish, recalled to his convent of Santo Domingo in the Capital.

Even in its decay, the Carmen church is the central point of interest in San Angel and, from a few remaining objects of art, the person gifted with imagination may mentally reconstruct the product of the genius of Brother Andrés, more than three centuries agone.

Fronting the Municipal Palace, you pass through a gate into a great paved yard, and find the church fronting you, its three tiled domes in the Moorish style rising above it. Entering, you are in a broad nave, filled with chairs and moveable benches, these having become general in Mexican temples during these latter years. Around this nave as a dado runs a course of blue and white Puebla tiles.

What draws the attention is the number of large oil paintings ranged around the walls: Saints Serapion, Cyril of Alexandria, and Dionysius are the first we come on. To the left is the chapel of the Sacred Heart, with pictures of Carmelite worthies, and of the scapular, these having been recently touched up in bright colors, which will doubtless tone down in time. In the middle we found a great black coffin trophy, marring the general effect.

Adjoining this is one of the great attractions of the place, the chapel of The Lord of Contreras, which dates from 1777, as is stated on the wall, and was restored in 1897. There are large mural paintings of the Last Supper, the Scourging, the Crucifixion, and the Descent from the Cross. Mercifully, three *Churrigueresque* altars have survived the zeal of the meddlesome renovator. The reredos is of the same glorious golden style. In this chapel are buried 45 United States soldiers, for, during the war of '48, the invaders used the convent as barrack and hospital.

The chapel was built for the reception of the Christ bearing a cross over the main altar. It takes its name from one Tomás de Contreras, who had the image in the chapel of his factory, at some distance from here. As it was much resorted to by the Indians on account of its alleged miraculous powers, the gentleman gave it to the Dominicans of Tenanitla, whence it passed to the Carmen. This Jesus Nazareno has two robes, a handsome one of brocaded silk which has lasted for a couple of hundred years, and quite a common affair, reserved for fes-

tivals, after the manner of those sensible people who use silver in ordinary, and produce electroplate for their dances and formal dinners.

The chapel of the Virgin of Mount Carmel has various modern pictures illustrating her life. Here formerly were many valuable jewels, which have for the most part disappeared.

There is a magnificent piece of sculpture in the choir, representing the body of St. Theresa borne away by an angel. Also a beautiful painting of St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi with a phoenix. This is supposed to be a portrait of a nun at Puebla, and many miracles were attributed to it. The Inquisition made an enquiry into the matter, and decreed a sentence of excommunication against all who should be concerned in such action in the future, be it artist or model, or officials of the convent. Albeit many copies of this painting were scattered about the country.

This church has dwarf transepts, one of them opening on the sacristy. Here are many noteworthy oil paintings, and an ancient inlaid press for sacred vestments.

At the sides of the presbytery are two small pictures, called reliquaries, which must once have been very valuable, containing as they did innumerable bones of saints.

The whole effect of the sanctuary is sumptuous, or must have been so before the despoiler made away with the treasures below, well within his grasp. Nothing simpler; nearly forty years ago the writer wandered all over the place, unchecked and unobserved.

Sr. Castillo waxes wrath anent the tourists, "*esas larvas que corroen por donde pasan.*" How render that? Those snails which leave their slime wherever they pass? He says that one person offered a good price to the authorities for some of the tiles. This being very naturally refused, he bribed one of the college boys to steal them for him, offering the munificent sum of five centavos each—two and a half cents.

Years ago in the town hall at Tlaxcala, we remarking on the piece cut out of a corner of the handsome silk banner which had been presented to the place by Philip II, the custodian explained: "There was a *gringo* here once, who asked me to look out of the window to see whether his friends were searching for him. For some time I gazed in vain . . . And when the man had gone, I noticed that the flag had been mutilated."

Apropos of this, read Carmen de Burgos' (Columbine) "*Los Anticuarios*," narrating the wholesale thefts of dealers in antiques in Spain. A pity that no New York publisher will put out the work of this gifted writer in English form.

On the way down the stairs to the crypt one comes on the relics of the former friars, their bones piled up hugger-mugger in the small ossuary. Here Hamlet might moral on the skull of poor Yorick. It recalls the crypt of the Franciscans at Malta, except that there, before being cast onto the common heap in one corner, the friars, duly habited, are allowed to stand around the walls, each in his own particular niche, for a century. "That is my brother," said our friar-guide, pointing to a gruesome mummy in a niche; "I shall be placed in the next recess."

It is pitiable to see the havoc worked, not so much by time, but by the despoiler in this erstwhile sumptuous establishment. What glories of painting, of

wood-carving, or mosaic are indicated by the present pitiful remains, the abandoned altars in the crypts, the mortuary vaults, desecrated by treasure-hunters, as though the friars would hide their riches amid the bones of their wealthy benefactors. Priceless historical volumes and manuscripts were carted off to the National Library where, if you ask for an old book, it is sure to be inscribed with the name of some religious house. Great part of the pictures may be met with in the San Carlos Museum. In these places they are at the service of the public, the man of letters, the artist may still avail himself of them. But what irreplaceable wealth has been lost; the person in charge of the library at one time, it is said, having sold books by measure, at ten cents a volume, or at five pesos the sack.

Let us close the sordid recital; it is heart-breaking.

There was an olive-press belonging to the convent, they producing sufficient oil for the needs of all the houses of the Order in the country, and having an excess remaining for sale.

In the grounds stood a sort of hermitage of one chamber, with an arched roof, and a huge cross in the center, called the "*camara de los secretos.*" It is so constructed that a person whispering against the wall in one corner is distinctly heard by one in the opposite angle, whilst the other occupants of the room catch no sound at all.

Here also stands an enormous ash, held to be a thousand years old, measuring twenty yards around the base.

It was found in 1684 that the convent grounds contained 13,450 trees, and that the fruits produced annually were worth from $4,000 to $8,000.

In the wildest part of the property, near a noisy waterfall, a brick pulpit was made for the vocal training of the students in the College. Thence he had to address a thesis to the professors, ranged below. If he made himself intelligible above the roar of the cascade he gave promise of proving an effective pulpit orator.

The material prosperity of the Carmen naturally declined with the downfall of Spanish rule, and with the series of civil wars which succeeded. Thus we find the parish priest selling a corner of the property on the road to Coyoacan as building lots to provide the means to repair the church. These parcels of land were acquired by people of substance, who erected seemly houses thereon, to the advantage and beautifying of the town.

Though San Angel is small, the place had always possessed a certain vogue; a number of Viceroys and Archbishops from time to time resorted thither for their summer vacation, if you can call the rainy season summer. Well, it is pleasant from nine in the morning till sundown, you do not think of the temperature; otherwise, a heavy overcoat is comforting. What would you have at seven or eight thousand feet above the Gulf?

In 1815, during the cruel revolutionary wars, there was a certain negro named Rojas, a bandit, freebooter, and murderer who operated against the Spaniards and society generally, his activities centering in San Angel, Coyoacan, and the fastnesses of Mount Ajusco. He was attended by a band of some score of followers, and was kept advised of the movements of his royalist pursuers by the many friends whom he had in all parts.

Finally, in the beginning of 1818, he was captured, "this inhuman monster, who confessed to having assassinated over 600 persons of both sexes," as the Government report states. After receiving the ministrations of a priest, he was immediately executed, his right arm being elevated on a pole at the spot where he had slain a captain and two young boys, and his head exposed in the plaza of San Jacinto at San Angel. A month later, the cura petitioned the authorities that this should be removed: "on account of the stench which it exhaled, and because it would mar the approaching festival of Our Lord of the Cross." (National Archives.)

The permission was accordingly conceded by the Viceroy, though the order had been that the head should remain exposed "until it fell from rottenness." It was taken down, and interred in the Carmelite grounds.

Between Coyoacan and San Angel, a mile, more or less, from the center of each, is a little stone bridge over a dirty stream in which the women are constantly washing their linen. On the San Angel side of the bridge is the tiny chapel of St. Anthony of Padua, where one often finds some pious matrons, teaching catechism to children.

The most important place neighboring on the Pedregal, in fact, the most important suburb of the City of Mexico, is Coyoacan, seven miles distant. It was a favorite resort of the Aztec emperor, Montezuma, and was then reached by canoes, for the lake of Texcoco extended thus far. We have a map of the City of Valley of Mexico, published in 1923, showing the lake as about thirteen miles long by eight in breadth so, ascending the hill of Guadalupe over a year ago, we expected, as of old, to have a view of that beautiful sheet of water. But no; it had been drained; it is replaced by an unlovely waste which, from the alkaline nature of the soil, cannot be cultivated, the clouds of sand from it which the wind sweeps hither and yon being a nuisance to the neighborhood.

Prescott says that in the year 1521 the Spaniards found Coyoacan deserted, that Olid was stationed there in May of that year with the great body of the allies. "This place recommended by the exceeding beauty of its situation became, after the Conquest, a favorite residence of Cortés, who founded a nunnery in it." (Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico.*)

"Que mis huesos—los llevan á la mi Villa de Coyoacan y allí les den tierra en el Monesterio de Monjas." (Testimonio de Hernan Cortés.)

The Palace of Cortés stands on the plaza at Coyoacan, a modest portico with four wooden columns in front, being now the municipal building. On one side of it is the boys' public school; on the other, a house on the site of what is said to have been Cortés' dwelling. In the portico aforesaid are several historical inscriptions, one, placed there by the municipality in 1892, stating that this was the house of Cortés. His arms may even yet be seen over the entrance. Another notice, placed there by the Cuauhtemoc society, reads: "Homage to the last Aztec king." For it was here that Cortés allowed his people to torture the valiant prince with fire, to make him reveal the place of the supposed treasure, concealed in the Pedregal. This is represented on the splendid Monument to Cuauhtemoc in one of the *glorietas* on the Paséo de la Reforma. "The bronze statue of Quauhtemotzin . . . one of the finest and most impressive monuments on the continent, the work of a native sculptor after the design of a Mexican artist."

Though conquered more than four centuries ago, the native Mexicans do not forget their history. Years ago, chancing on this monument on Cuauhtemoc's anniversary, we found a bevy of Indians, duly befeathered in their ancient festival garb, performing an antique ceremonial dance around the trophy. The present fiasco of a "Mexican Catholic Church," marks the same spirit.

We find Cortés writing to Charles V. from Coyoacan in May, 1522, giving an account of the siege, and of his exploits generally.

Spanish authority established in the country, there was a great influx of adventurers. Amongst others appeared Doña Catalina, the wife of the Conqueror, whom he had left in Cuba. Whatever may have been his feelings, he seems to have shown the little-regarded lady every respect, and Las Casa states that they lived happily together for years. Whereas Bernal Diaz declares that the elevation of Coyoacan, 7,500 feet, brought on asthma, from which she died in three months. The local tradition is different. Years ago, the writer was considering renting a house at Coyoacan, and the landlord gave as one attraction that the well in the yard was that into which Cortés had thrown his lady after having murdered her.

"The Conquest concluded, the Emperor Charles V. ceded all those lands to the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés, who placed religious affairs in charge of the Dominicans. . . . The domains of Coyoacan which belonged to the Marquis of the Valley were divided into three districts, each with its Governor and republic of Indians, and were: San Angel, Tacubaya, and Tlalpam; Dominican convents were founded in all three." (Joseph Villasenor y Sanchez.)

"In the year 1529, the Dominicans founded the convent of St. John the Baptist at Coyoacan." (Francisco Fernandez del Castillo.)

This fell into decay, but has been beautifully restored, and consists of two stories, ranged around a central garden in which some tall fruit trees are now in blossom (Feb. 20, 1926). The two cloisters, both upper and lower, are now becluttered with piles of bricks for the building of the new church, now in progress, and the garden is full of pits and lime. In the lower cloister is a painting of St. Francis, with a skull in his hand, and St. Dominic, holding a book. Behind them rises a large cross and, on a shoulder of each, is a pierced hand. Below them are the arms of the two Orders. There is also an enormous crucifix here. In the upper cloister hang some half dozen eighteenth century paintings: portraits of bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, of no particular artistic value, a St. Dominic in ecstasy, and St. Francis receiving the stigmata. Parallelling one side of this cloister is a broad gallery onto which open our cells, which are distinguished by names of saints over the doors. This one, for instance, measures four yards by five, is lofty, as are all rooms in Mexico, and has a skylight, walls and ceiling whitewashed, after the manner of the country, with a handsome floor of encaustic tiles. A painting of St. Charles Borromeo hangs over the wooden bedstead, which is four feet broad, there is a writing-table, a rocker and three upright chairs, a washstand, and electric light. But this is probably the most sumptuous of all the dozen rooms. At one end the gallery is the bathroom, etc., and at the other a Guadalupe altar, where the dozen young Franciscan friar-students used to hear mass and recite their offices till a week

ago, when a government agent appeared, and put an end to that arrangement. They are still allowed to sleep in the cubicles which run at right angles to the gallery already described, and meals are smuggled up to them from the kitchen. But they have been compelled to find a separate house for their studies. The Spanish priests were also expelled at that time.

Below, off from the cloister, is a large refectory, adorned by an abundance of oil paintings, some of them copies of old masters. One of the Deluge represents an abundance of nude figures, clinging to floating logs, or hanging onto the necks of horses, oxen, or elephants, the ark appearing in the distance.

Franciscan nuns used to preside in the kitchen, passing in the food through an opening. But since their house was broken up a week ago, this service is rendered by secular women.

From the cells above we have, on clear days, a view of the snow mountain of Iztaccihuatl. Below is a great yard, now full of rubbish from the old church: a pile of earth nearly as high as the house, a pile of rock, originating in the Pedregal, beams, tiles, etc.

Off the lower cloister is a large chamber where we used to have cinematograph shows until the church demolition was ordered by the authorities, who held the ancient building unsafe. Now this, as everywhere else, is filled with rubbish.

We had a nice little school here for small boys, with maps and globes, pictures and a grand piano, with secular teachers. But the government sealed it up last week.

The church, adjoining the monastery, is stated by an inscription on the wall to date from 1583. It was restored some score of years ago but, as already stated, it is in course of demolition and reconstruction.

The western façade of the church is weather-worn to such an extent that the inscriptions are hardly legible, and the figurines of saints are grotesque in their decay. The massive doors, too, must surely date from the beginning. There is a fine belfry, and the effect of the whole is imposing and harmonious, perhaps from its massiveness. Most curious of all is a side doorway to the left of the main entrance, leading to the disused little graveyard, which is in a woeful state of abandonment. This door is never opened; but the stonework of the side-columns and of the arch show a marked Aztec influence. Within may be seen an account of its restoration in 1892.

Entering, you see, or saw, a huge barn-like vastness, a nave and two aisles, with eight great square columns on either hand, and flat roofs of massive beams. But the eastern half of this is in the hands of the wreckers, it being boarded off by great hordings reaching to the roof. Hideous as it was, one regrets the loss of a characteristic monument of the early times. Some of the worm-eaten benches must surely date back to the beginning. The most remarkable object in the place is a circular table in the sacristy, 70 inches in diameter, made from a single log. There is a chapel, or left transept, containing the one thing of beauty, a gorgeously gilded *Churruguesque* altar. In the baptistry opposite is the nude figure of a child astride a lamb, which doubtless has some esoteric significance.

There are eight masses on Sunday, from six to thirteen o'clock, all well attended. The banished parish priest aforesaid used to preach and take up the col-

lections at all of them, hearing confessions between-whiles. On week days there are four masses. There must have been hundreds of communions made daily at the seven o'clock mass, for three convent schools attended, the three-score orphans from the Franciscan house giving a brightness to the place with their white veils, some eight or ten of them often rendering simple masses and hymns very beautifully. Alas! they are all banished. The elder girls may find employment as domestic servants—but the little tots who used to cummunicate standing; what of them?

Outside the church is a great open space, lined on either side by three ranks of elms. Fronting the church entry is the huge ancient stone cross and, at the far end, a dilapidated old stone archway. This was the original atrium. In it you may see about five hundred girls from the public school drill of a morning, and a very graceful exhibition it is.

Trees, flowers, and gardens are the characteristics of this most lovely of towns. There is a large government plantation of young trees, a most delightful retreat, a triumph of the gardener's art. The characteristic flower of the place is the purple Bougainvillæa, which blooms twelve months in the year.

Proceeding along the road to San Angel, one finds a small stream flowing between pavement and roadway. In places the ash trees have grown to such a size that they have raised the pavement, encroached on the stream, and left barely passage-way for a slim pedestrian. They could not be cut down, they would demolish the houses in their fall.

Passing here on the afternoon of Sunday, the 14th of February, we found a soldier standing guard at the Franciscan convent, and the furniture being carried out and carted away. A little further on, there were a dozen autos at the door of the convent of the Annunciation, presumably sent by friends to take away the nuns; and some of the girls, well-dressed maidens of the better class, were removing their books and effects.

We went to the Palace of Alvarado, the home of Mrs. Nuttall, "a celebrated archæologist and philologist," as Mr. Terry styles her, a most gracious lady, sister of the Professor of Biology at Cambridge, who has made both house and garden a thing of glory.

We found her, and an English gentleman from the City, full of indignation at the government raid: "The law does not permit of monasteries or of foreign clergy? Very good. But, after these people had been here for years, why bundle them off at a moment's notice? Why not give them time to arrange their affairs?" Then in came a lady from the Capital, with later accounts, breathless with indignation: "And they haven't molested the Presbyterians," she exclaimed, "only us, because we are ninety-five per cent of the population." (The Presbyterian school was closed later, for teaching religion.)

Returning along this Avenida del Benemerito Juarez—how that author of the Laws of Reform of 1857 would chuckle at the way in which Venustiano Carranza by his Laws of 1917, had added to and completed his work!—we halted in the charming little Plaza de Santa Catalina, named from the chapel which abuts on it. This is one of the dozen temples, great and small, which are served by the Coyoacan Franciscans. Thirty thousand people; and a sapient judge told them of late that one priest was enough for all that. There are actually three Fran-

ciscan priests; and they bring in a number of seculars from the City to their aid.

To return to ancient days.

Amongst the caciqués who were most helpful to Cortés was Itzolinque of Coyoacan, who took in baptism the name of Don Juan de Guzman Itzolinque. His extensive domain was forfeit at the Conquest, for Charles V. gave this, amongst others, to Cortés. But, for his services in the war, the latter passed those possessions back to their proper owner, the royal confirmation of this act of justice setting forth that, besides aiding in the war, the Indian chieftain had reassured and brought back a number of the poor people who had fled to the hills; and that once, when D. Hernando Cortés was at Cuernavaca with few attendants and was attacked by more than two thousand Indians under their local leader, D. Juan had shot two arrows at the latter, killing him, and putting his following to flight. He also aided in the conquest of Oaxaca. So he was ennobled, and given a coat of arms. (National Archives.)

He was a potentate of some consideration, for here are the taxes due him, as set forth by the Real Audencia in 1560:

Yearly: 200 hanegas (a hanega is 1.60 of a bushel) of wheat, and 400 hanegas of corn.

Weekly: 700 chili peppers, and a like number of tomatoes.

A half cake of salt daily.

Two fowls a day, and three loads of wood, and two of grass, and two hands of ocote.

Four attendants a week, whom the community were to pay.

Then there were obligations for the Indians to sow his lands in wheat and maize, though one would have thought that he had sufficient from the taxes.

The signatures of D. Juan and his wife are still extant, the lady's writing being the better of the two.

She also was a great lady, having extensive lands of her own, and being granddaughter of the King of Texcoco. Her baptismal name was Doña Mencia de la Cruz.

On D. Juan's death in 1573, he was succeeded in his office as cacique by his grandson, D. Felipe, by order of the Viceroy, and the family remained powerful thereabouts for generations.

Some two years ago Mrs. Nuttall undertook a work of digging and tunneling under the lava in her garden, a branch of which flowed thus far from the Pedregal. These explorations were made under the auspices of the Director of the Administration of Anthropology, Señor Manuel Gamio, and were especially fruitful. The deep holes in the lava were found to be full of fragments of pottery: household goods, figurines, cement flooring. Some of these ceramics were beautifully decorated, and had evidently been most carefully laid in place. Possibly this was related to the curious custom of the Aztecs destroying all their effects at the end of every 52-year period. No less than twenty various types of decoration were found, showing the high grade of æsthetic culture possessed by these Aztec women, which has persisted to this day. (Zelia Nuttall. The ceramics discovered at Coyoacan. *Ethnos*, March and April, 1925.)

Professor Franz Boas has collected thousands of specimens of pottery of three distinct periods: the Aztec, the Toltec, and the Archaic, of which, naturally, the

latter is the most interesting. This is that which is found beneath the Pedregal. It is of two colors: black, or dark brown, and the color of the clay. "The ceramic found under the lava of the Pedregal at San Angel is older than that found elsewhere." (Album of the archæological collection made by Señor Franz Boas; text by Señor Manuel Gamio, 1921.) The surfaces are sometimes rough, then again, smooth. The eyes of the figures mark various sub-types: some have eye-sockets scooped out of the face, without eyelids; others like the former, with eyelids in relief; others again have eyelids of paste superposed. In the first class the pupil of the eye is made by the intersection of the two planes which formed the hollow *(cuenca)*; sometimes by circular perforations in the center of this, or to one side. In the second and third classes, the pupil is formed by superimposed little bars perpendicular to the axis major of the hollow. Sometimes the eyebrow is formed by incisions. The lips are very thick, the mouths half-open, or shut. The ears are superposed clay, circular, as are also the ear-rings. Some figurines have collars, and anklets. The heads are covered with casques, turbans, or interlaced bands, seemingly of cotton. These figures are almost all nude.

There are naturally a number of forgeries; but these may readily be detected, as they jumble up all the three styles grotesquely.

The excavations in Mrs. Nuttall's garden showed a current of basalt only a meter in thickness, with two different types of ceramic and other remains, those below it being of great antiquity. This current is supposed to have nearly reached the ancient Lake Texcoco. At no great depth, were found a couple of human skeletons, with implements of quartz, obsidian, opal, a copper needle, and a quantity of pottery. These are of the Aztec period. (Engineer Enrique Díaz Lozano in *Ethnos*, March and April, 1925.)

These bodies had, apparently, been buried in the classic manner, though later displayed by the pressure of the superincumbent earth. The one figure appeared to be that of a man of about twenty-five years of age, of approximately 1.64 meters in height. The second skeleton, found near the other, and buried in the same manner, seemed to be that of a woman of over twenty-five years of age, and 1.536 meters high, better preserved than that of the man, although the skull was missing. But the two of them had to be handled with the greatest care, which is not to be wondered at, for they date from before the Conquest. (Paul Siliceo Pauer, *Ethnos*, March and April, 1925.)

A number of pages are filled with detailed measurements of these figures, which appear to be normal specimens of the Aztec type.

Beneath the lava, the explorers came on pottery and human remains of ancient days, thousands of years ago. But these, naturally, were in a very imperfect condition, so that no valuable measurements could be made of them.

CHARLES E. HODSON, M.A.,
Casa Paroquial, Coyoacan, Mexico, D. F.

CHRONICLE

Never before did so vast a throng of worshipers or such a representative body of Catholic dignitaries gather in a city of the New World, or possibly in the Old as those who participated in honoring the Eucharistic King in Chicago during the Congress which was held from June 20 to 24. The Congress pilgrims, coming from every country in Europe, from Asia, from Africa, from China, from the Antipodes, from the length and breadth of the American Continent constituted a truly Pentecostal assemblage "each proclaiming in his own tongue the wonderful works of God." It was reminiscent of that elder day which witnessed the scene described in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles when "devout men out of every nation under heaven" paid homage to Him Who is daily worshipped on our altars. As in that olden time the voice of Peter was heard through an Apostolic Legate who bore to the pilgrims this message of good-will from the Holy Father, Pope Pius XI:

To our very dear children of the United States and particularly those of the city and the archdiocese of Chicago, who inspired by living and actve faith, supported by the resources of a generous country and one that has been singularly blessed by God, after untiring and elaborate preparations, are about to render the most solemn tribute of adoration and of love to the Sacramental Lord and Redeemer by holding in that great city the International Eucharistic congress for the first time within the confines of their vast and glorious republic, go to-day the thoughts of Our mind and go also the affection of Our heart in fullest transports of holiest joy and of fatherly satisfaction, with the augury that this historic event, which happily synchronizes with the 150th anniversary of the birth of their still youthful and already powerful nation, bring to all and everywhere, in ever-increasing abundance the fruits of the Redemption, and those gifts of unity and of peace which the Blessed Sacrament mystically symbolizes and which are the first requisites and the true foundation of all prosperity.

For this blessing we pray with all Our soul and bestow on all the apostolic blessing.

OFFICIAL PROGRAMME

Sunday, June 20, Official Opening

5:00 a. m.—A Solemn High Mass was celebrated in all the churches of the archdiocese, followed by low Masses, at intervals of one-half hour, until high noon. Most of the congressists received Holy Communion on this first day of the Congress for the intention of the Pope and thus participated in the offering of the Spiritual Bouquet of One Million Communions which Cardinal Mundelein promised Pius XI. early in 1925.

11:00 a. m.—The formal welcome and installation of the Papal Legate in the Cathedral of the Holy Name, Superior and State streets.

Solemn Pontifical High Mass

Right Rev. Thomas Louis Heylen, D.D.
Bishop of Namur in Belgium
President, Permanent Committee, International Eucharistic Congresses
Celebrant

Reading of the Papal Brief

Very Rev. Monsignor Dennis J. Dunne, D.D.
Chicago, Illinois

Address of Welcome to the Papal Legate

His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein
Archbishop of Chicago
Sponsor of the XXVIII International Eucharistic Congress

Response

His Eminence John Cardinal Bonzano
Papal Legate to the XXVIII International Eucharistic Congress

3:00 p. m.—The assemblies of the various sectional meetings.

8:00 p. m.—The Holy Hour. The exercises were held in all the churches of the archdiocese with a sermon by one of the visiting Bishops, after which there was Solemn Pontifical Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

MONDAY, JUNE 21, CHILDREN'S DAY

10:00 a. m.—*First General Meeting of the Congress.*

The Stadium of Soldiers Field in Grant Park

Right Rev. Thomas Louis Heylen, D.D.
Bishop of Namur in Belgium
President, Permanent Committee, International Eucharistic Congresses
Presiding

Address: His Eminence Michael Cardinal von Faulhaber
Archbishop of Munich in Germany

Address: Hon. David Ignatius Walsh, LL.D.
Clinton, Massachusetts

Address: His Eminence Louis Ernest Cardinal Dubois
Archbishop of Paris in France

Address: Most Rev. Daniel Mannix, D.D.
Archbishop of Melbourne in Australia

Solemn Pontifical High Mass

His Eminence John Cardinal Bonzano
Papal Legate to the XXVIII International Eucharistic Congress, Celebrant

A choir of 60,000 children from the parochial schools of the city of Chicago sang

the Mass of the Angels under the direction of Prof. Otto A. Singenberger, Director of Music at the Seminary of St. Mary of the Lake, Mundelein, Illinois.

Sermon: Most Rev. Michael J. Curley, D.D.
Archbishop of Baltimore in Maryland

2:00 p. m.—*Priests' Latin Sectional Meeting*

Auditorium of Municipal Pier, Grand avenue at the Lake

Address: Rev. Alfred Koch, O.S.B., S.T.D.
St. Vincent Archabbey, Beatty, Pennsylvania

Address: Rev. William L. Hornsby, S.J.
Theological Seminary of St. Mary of the Lake
Mundelein, Illinois

Address: Rev. William Van Dijk, O.S.A.
Member, Permanent Committee, International Eucharistic Congresses
Amsterdam, Holland

Address: Rt. Rev. Monsignor Hugh Lamy, O. Praem
Premonstratensian Abbey, Tongerloo, Belgium

Address: Rev. Arthur Vermeersch, S.J.
Consultor of the Sacred Congregation, Rome, Italy

Address: Rev. Englebert Krebs, Ph.D.
The University of Freiburg, Freiburg, Germany

3:30 p. m.—*Sectional Meeting of English-Speaking Group*

The Coliseum, Wabash avenue at 16th street

Address: Hon. Francis Fronczak, M.D.
Buffalo, New York

Address: Rev. Callistus Stehle, O.S.B.
Jeannette, Pennsylvania

Address: Hon. Valentine Brifaut
Member, Belgian Chamber of Deputies, Brussels, Belgium

Address: Right Rev. Daniel M. Gorman, D.D., LL.D.
Bishop of Boise in Idaho

8:30 p. m.—*Sectional Meeting of English-Speaking Group*

The Coliseum, Wabash avenue at 16th street

Address: Hon. Martin T. Manton
President, Nocturnal Adoration Society of New York, Judge of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, New York

Address: Rev. Joseph Rhode, O.F.M., Ph.D.
The Franciscan Monastery (Old Mission), Santa Barbara, California

Address: Most Rev. Augustine Ferdinand Leynaud, D.D.
Archbishop of Algiers in Africa

Address: Most Rev. John T. McNicholas, O.P., S.T.M.
Archbishop of Cincinnati in Ohio

TUESDAY, JUNE 22, WOMEN'S DAY

10:00 a. m.—*Second General Meeting of the Congress*

The Stadium of Soldiers Field in Grant Park
His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell
Archbishop of Boston in Massachusetts
Presiding

Address: His Eminence Allessius Cardinal Charost
Archbishop of Rennes in France

Address: Hon. Pierce Butler
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Address: His Eminence Gustave Frederick Cardinal Piffl
Archbishop of Vienna in Austria

Solemn Pontifical High Mass
Most Rev. Paul Giobbe, D.D.
Apostolic Nuncio, United States of Colombia
Celebrant

Sermon: Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, D.D.
Archbishop of San Francisco in California

2:00 p. m.—*Sectional Meeting, Priests' Eucharistic League*

The Chapel of the Quigley Memorial Seminary
Rush and Pearson streets

3:30 p. m.—*Sectional Meeting of English-Speaking Group*

The Coliseum, Wabash avenue at 16th street

Address: William Shepherd Benson, K.S.G.
Rear-Admiral, United States Navy, Retired, Commissioner of the United States Shipping Board, Washington, D. C.

Address: Very Rev. Canon Joseph Hanus, D.D.
Prague, Czecho-Slovakia

Address: Hon: Joseph Eugene Ransdell, LL.D.
United States Senator from Louisiana, Lake Providence, La.

Address: Count Henry Pocci
Rome, Italy

Address: Right Rev. Joseph Schrembs, D.D.
Bishop of Cleveland in Ohio
President, Priests' Eucharistic League in the United States

8:30 p. m.—*Sectional Meeting of English-Speaking Group*

The Coliseum, Wabash avenue at 16th street

Address: Hon. Quin O'Brien
Chicago, Illinois

Address: Right Rev. Arthur Doubleday, D.D.
Bishop of Brentwood in England

Address: Right Rev. Charles Kaspar, D.D.

Bishop of Hradec Kralove in Czecho-Slovakia
Address: Most Rev. John J. Glennon, D.D.
Archbishop of St. Louis in Missouri
Men's Night
Under the auspices of the Holy Name Society of Chicago
8:30 p. m.—*Third General Meeting of the Congress—For Men Only*
The Stadium of Soldiers Field in Grant Park
The Introduction of the Chairman
Anthony Matre, K.S.G.
President, Chicago Archdiocesan Unit, Holy Name Society
Chicago, Illinois
Right Rev. Edward F. Hoban, D.D.
Bishop Auxiliary of Chicago in Illinois
President, XXVIII International Eucharistic Congress
Presiding
Address: Right Rev. Augustin Hloand, D.D.
Bishop of Katawice in Upper Silesia
Address: Right Rev. Msgr. Ignatius Seipel, D.D., Ph.D.
Former Premier of Austria, Vienna, Austria
Address: Hon. Henri Bourassa
Editor, Le Devoir, Montreal, Canada
Address: Most Rev. Joseph Palica, D.D.
Archbishop of Filippi, Vicegerent of Rome
Address: His Eminence Henry Cardinal Reig y Casanova
Archbishop of Toledo in Spain
Sermon: His Eminence Patrick Cardinal O'Donnell
Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland
Solemn Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament
His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein
Archbishop of Chicago in Illinois
Pontificating

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23, HIGHER EDUCATION DAY

10:00 a. m.—*Fourth General Meeting of the Congress*
The Stadium of Soldiers Field in Grant Park
His Eminence Dennis Cardinal Dougherty
Archbishop of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania
Presiding
Address: Most Rev. George Gauthier, D.D.
Archbishop of Montreal in Canada
Address: Joseph Scott, K.S.G.
Los Angeles, California
Address: His Eminence John Cardinal Csernoch
Archbishop of Strigonia, Primate of Hungary
Solemn Pontifical High Mass
Right Rev. Edward F. Hoban, D.D.

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Bishop Auxiliary of Chicago in Illinois
President XXVIII International Eucharistic Congress
Celebrant
Sermon: Most Rev. Austin Dowling, D.D.
Archbishop of St. Paul in Minnesota

3:30 p. m.—*Sectional Meeting of English-Speaking Group*
The Coliseum, Wabash avenue at 16th street
Address: Rev. James J. Mertz, S.J.
Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois
Address: Rev. Vincent di Lorenzo, S.S.S.
Rome, Italy
Address: Right Rev. Maurice Landrieux, D.D.
Bishop of Dijon in France
Address: Hon. G. Elliott Anstruthers
Assistant Editor, The Tablet, London, England
Address: Right Rev. Alexander J. McGavick, D.D.
Bishop of La Crosse in Wisconsin

8:30 p. m.—*Sectional Meeting of English-Speaking Group*
The Coliseum, Wabash avenue at 16th street
Address: Anthony Matre, K.S.G.
Chicago, Illinois
Address: Very Rev. Joseph M. Corrigan, D.D.
Rector, Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo
Overbrook, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Address: Very Rev. Ignatius Smith, O.P., Ph.D.
Prior, Immaculate Conception College, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
Address: Right Rev. Francis Clement Kelly, D.D., LL.D.
Member, Permanent Committee, International Eucharistic Congress
Bishop of Oklahoma

THURSDAY, JUNE 24, EUCHARISTIC PROCESSION DAY

11:00 a. m.—*Solemn Pontifical High Mass*
Theological Seminary of St. Mary of the Lake
Mundelein, Illinois
His Eminence John Cardinal Bonzano
Papal Legate, XXVIII International Eucharistic Congress
Celebrant
Sermon: His Eminence Patrick Cardinal Hayes
Archbishop of New York

The procession of the Blessed Sacrament started from the altar immediately upon the conclusion of the Mass. The line of march stretched along the shores of the lake of St. Mary, back to where Solemn Pontifical Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given, after which the Legate imparted the Papal Benediction.

The brilliant ecclesiastical functions, the sermons, conferences, and addresses were all attuned to one supreme note: "Blessed be Jesus in the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar!"

The end and purpose of this marvelous celebration was to proclaim the "wonderful works of God," to manifest publicly our faith in the Divinity and Kingship of Jesus Christ and give expression to our love and gratitude for His abiding Presence in the Adorable Sacrament of the Eucharist.

That the significance of the Eucharistic Congress was of national import was emphasized by the following message sent to Cardinal Mundelein by President Coolidge:

The White House, Washington, D. C., June 16, 1926:

Your Eminence: The invitation to attend the Eucharistic Congress, extended through you, has been received. I regret that my engagements are such at this time, looking after those matters which naturally arise at the end of a session, that it is impossible for me to accept.

It is reported to me that this will probably be one of the largest religious gatherings of recent days held in America. Our country has long been under the imputation of putting too much emphasis on material things. Perhaps we have been the subject of that kind of criticism not so much because we are more interested in material prosperity than others but because in that direction we have been more successful than others. But no doubt a most conclusive answer to such criticism lies in the fact that material prosperity cannot be secured unless it rests upon spiritual realities.

It is impossible to create a commercial system which is not built on credit, confidence, and faith. Without the elements of honor and honesty there can be no economic advance. If the requirements of character be withdrawn from our business structure the whole fabric would collapse.

The same principle applies to our government. The day of the despot has passed. No country attempts to rely on force but on reason to justify its institutions. No government can long endure unless its people are convinced that it is a righteous government. If our country has achieved any political success, if our people are attached to the constitution, it is because our institutions are in harmony with their religious beliefs.

It is for these reasons that the religious life of the nation is so important. Its free exercise is guaranteed by the fundamental law of the land. If America is advancing economically, if it is the abiding place of justice and freedom, it is because of the deep religious convictions of its people.

Very cordially yours,

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

The President's message was borne by the Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis, the text of whose address follows:

I have the very great honor of being able to bring to you the greetings of the President of the United States, and I bid you a hearty welcome to this Republic.

When a million souls from all parts of the world leave their homes and vocations behind them for the purpose of making a pilgrimage of the extraordinary character which is now being witnessed in this city, it is proof, if proof be needed, that religion is neither dead nor moribund in the heart of man. The zeal that has brought you to this city on Lake Michigan's shore comparable to that which inspired the knights of old who roamed far and wide in search of the Holy Grail, and those who forgot all their petty self-interests, and made sacrifices of no mean order, to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the Saracen.

We often hear it said in America that the present age is one of unbridled materialism and worldliness. This gathering is a demonstration that the light of faith that burned so bright in the Middle Ages, is still burning with no diminution of its lustre. The faith that built the wonderful Cathedrals of Europe and the medieval universities which instructed the old and middle-aged as well as the young, the faith that inspired St. Francis and Dante, and made the thirteenth century so illustrious in the annals of mankind, is no less vital than it was in those far-off days.

We are not oblivious in America of the spiritual side of existence. America was settled by men to whom spiritual things meant more than the things of purely material import. The Puritans who founded Massachusetts in the North, and the Catholics under Lord Baltimore who founded Maryland in the South, came to the new world that they might be permitted to worship God in accordance with their own conscience. America was founded by men who wished to see the will of God prevail in the world, and a religious people Americans have been ever since the days of early settlements.

It gives me great pleasure, in addressing this Catholic audience, to call attention to the fact that the members of your Communion who settled in Maryland share with Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island and Providence plantations, in the honor of being the first American settlers to establish the principles of religious toleration. The Catholics of Maryland respected the conscience of all men and women in that province. They allowed the men and women of the various Protestant persuasions the same liberty that they asked for themselves. The student of history of religious freedom in America knows that in according toleration to all faiths, the Catholics of America, in the one original colony that was settled by them, built a monument to the great cause of religious freedom more enduring than one of bronze or marble.

Catholics have reason to be proud of the growth of their faith in America. From humble beginnings the Church has grown by leaps and

bounds until to-day it has nearly nineteen million communicants. Many of the leading citizens of our country to-day are of your faith. They are graduates of our universities. They are to be found in editorial chairs; they are leaders in the arts and sciences; many are illustrious men of letters; they have taken an eminent rank in the professions and in business. Catholics are found in our halls of legislation and upon the bench. Two of their number, have been Chief Justices of the Supreme Court. On every field of battle in which America has engaged they have shed their blood in behalf of the land of their birth, or the land of their adoption, and on more than one hotly contested field a Catholic general has led the American arms. The patriotism of our Catholic citizens is not open to dispute. If there is any prejudice against Catholics in America, it comes from persons who make a specialty of prejudice, and, like all other countries, we have a few who do.

So far as the bulk of our people are concerned, their minds are by nature tolerant of all that is tolerant. America has developed a neighborly spirit, in which all men and women who breathe a spirit of peace and good will feel themselves at home. We have no quarrels with any man's religion; and any nation that refuses to grant freedom of worship is a nation that must realize sooner or later that it has made the profoundest of mistakes.

There are elements among us, as in other lands, which are so dissatisfied with life, or, rather, with the life that they know from experience that they desire to destroy our American institutions. These advocates of revolution are men who abhor all religion, and believe in neither God nor the life eternal. They are materialists against whom all who believe in the validity of spiritual ideals must set a face like flint. The Catholic Church has stood like a wall of adamant against the vicious revolutionary procedures of this class; which are urged ostensibly in behalf of labor, but which really owe their origin in the will of a few to power. Whatever a man's religious faith may be, if he have one, he can have no intellectual commerce with this type of revolutionist.

Allow me to congratulate you heartily on the great success of this International Eucharistic Congress. Nothing like it in the way of a purely religious celebration has ever been seen in America before, and its influence is destined to be profound. It was on your part a great spiritual adventure. I presume that the majority of those who have come from foreign lands are now viewing America for the first time, and I trust that when you return to your homes, it will be to carry as pleasing a recollection of the people of the New World as we shall be certain to entertain of you. Prejudice dies on acquaintance, and is succeeded by good will. There is a good story told of Charles Lamb, the gentle and whimsical English essayist, that he was once heard expressing his hatred of somebody or other whom he did not even know, and was rebuked by his interlocutor on the ground that he had no right to hate a man if he did not know him. "Why!" exclaimed Lamb, "How could I hate

him if I knew him?" To know one another is usually to like one another. Are we not all human?

You have come to us as the representatives of the Church which has the greatest number of communicants who bear the Christian name. It was one of your faith who discovered the New World, and many of you have come from across the seas to rediscover it. As I have said, your Church has grown greatly in America, and it is still growing. Your influence in America is not confined to those of your own communion. Catholic authors are widely read among us, irrespective of denominational lines, and Catholic hymns are sung in all of our places of worship. The lives of your Saints are honored everywhere. The narrow prejudice and the intolerance of another day have vanished like mist before the morning sun. You have found, and I hope you will always find, in America—no matter what condition may prevail in other sections of this hemisphere—the freedom which you require to teach your faith to young and old and to be missionaries to us all.

Again I bid you welcome to this Republic. I cannot conclude without a word of personal tribute to your host, who is not only universally respected and admired in this community, but greatly beloved by all who know him. He is, in addition to being a great churchman, a wonderful business executive. It is my signal privilege on this occasion to be able to greet our beloved citizen, His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein.

The outstanding ecclesiastical event in the United States during May was the celebration of the silver jubilee of His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston.

Perhaps nothing so typified the spirit of the Cardinal's flock as their response to his request that their recognition of his jubilee consist of prayer and pious acts. There was presented to him, in answer to his plea, a "spiritual bouquet" of no fewer than one million prayers and good works, which the presentation speaker assured him was "the offering of a diocese literally on its knees" and the "tribute of unanimous heartfelt prayer of loving children for a loved and loving father."

Despite the wish of His Eminence, one material tribute was offered. It was tendered "as our jubilee heart offering," and was a fund large enough to cover the entire cost of substantial additions to St. John's Seminary.

Cardinal O'Connell began his jubilee day by celebrating Mass at the Cathedral before a huge concourse of his flock and adminstering Holy Communion with his own hand. As he began the Mass, at the same hour the Rev. M. J. Scanlon of Chelsea, who witnessed the consecration as a Bishop of His Eminence twenty-five years ago in the Basilica of St. John Lateran, began the Mass of Thanksgiving in the same Basilica in Rome.

At the conclusion of the Mass His Eminence imparted the blessing of the Holy Father, as he had been empowered to do in a letter of felicitation from the

Vatican. The letter, which also granted a plenary indulgence to all who received Holy Communion on the day of the jubilee, said of Cardinal O'Connell:

"I know the many and great things which under your direction and by your action have been accomplished for the welfare of Holy Mother Church and which well deserved Our praise because, among other things, of your well-known devotion to this Apostolic See whose honor has always been foremost in your thoughts and your deeds; whether We consider the devoted and studious care given by you to the students of your beloved country in this Eternal City, or again the glory of the faith abroad, spread and nourished by you as Representative of the Apostolic See in Japan or again the zeal and wise and beneficent action in the government and conduct of the great works done in the archdiocese of Boston—the building of schools and the erection of churches and the founding of charitable institutions—and besides all these things, very noteworthy in themselves, your charity was known to all those in need during the bitter war which for a while was raging in the world.

"No wonder then that We hold you dear to Our heart and love you as We know the citizens of Boston do. And so We wish to be with them and to rejoice with them on the happy occasion of your jubilee."

The Cardinal greeted the men of the archdiocese knighted by the Pope, and spent the remainder of the day in visits to archdiocesan institutions which ran the whole range of the Church's multiple activities there. He did not neglect the homes for poor children nor the hospitals, and the needy and sick gave him a greeting as affectionate and enthusiastic as did the more fortunate in the schools and colleges.

Everywhere the note was sounded which was typified by the greeting expressed by Henry V. Cunningham, when he spoke for the laity of the archdiocese. He said:

"You have preserved the faith and enlarged and extended the influence and work of the Church in our midst. You have cherished your flock and the faithful have increased in numbers and devotion under your wise leadership and prudent care. Your every call has been heeded with filial and generous response and the Church, school, hospital and home for the orphan and needy have been given by a faithful and loyal people."

His Eminence expressed his gratitude in moved and humble terms. He thanked all his flock, saying:

"I have in my mind to-day one only thought, and in my heart one only sentiment—humble gratitude to God for all His wonderful graces and benefits during the past twenty-five years."

His Eminence first visited the Boston College High School, where he was formally felicitated, the boys cheered him and sang hymns which he himself had written. Next he visited the Home for Destitute Catholic Children, where similar greetings were exchanged with enthusiasm. Following the reception to the Papal Knights, visits were made to St. John's Seminary at Brighton and to Boston College.

His Eminence received one other jubilee gift, the most quaint of all. It was the bell of the steamship *Ohio*, on which he conducted a party of New England pilgrims to Rome for the Holy Year. It was given to commemorate the voyage.

So numerous were the telegrams, cablegrams and letters of congratulation the Cardinal received that His Eminence, while he read them all, will be unable to answer them. He announced that he would place them at the foot of the altar "and ask God to answer these letters for me and to shower His benedictions upon you."

One of the many distinguished honors bestowed upon His Eminence the Cardinal on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee was the Grand Cross of the Crown of Italy conferred by King Victor Emmanuel. This honor was given in recognition of His Eminence's untiring solicitude for the Italian people under his spiritual care in the Diocese of Boston as well as for his distinguished labors for the good of humanity.

Love and admiration for Italy and her people were deeply implanted in His Eminence's heart during his years in Rome as Rector of the American College. With that love and admiration came a sympathetic understanding of the Italian people, that grew stronger and deeper with years. It is only natural that such sentiments should be expressed in action when the time came.

Faced with the problem of ministering to the spiritual needs of the Italian people in his diocese, His Eminence soon earned their love and esteem by his constant solicitude for them. By his fatherly advice, his constant encouragement, and his pastoral care, he has united them to him in bonds of faith and loyalty. The Home for Italian Children in West Roxbury is but one of the many manifestations of His Eminence's solicitude for the Italian people. Through his direction and by his generosity a large commodious home for these little Italian orphans has been erected and maintained. Here His Eminence loves to go when he can snatch a brief moment from a busy day, to be among the children. Like his Divine Master he gathers the little ones about him and delights to listen to their innocent talk, and to answer their questions. The picture of the Prince of the Church surrounded by these little orphans, is one of the human sides of His Eminence that is worthy of the brush of some great artist.

For these and many other acts of solicitude for the Italian people the King of Italy has now bestowed upon His Eminence the honor of the Grand Cross of the Crown of Italy, a rare and distinguished decoration, that attests the international reputation that His Eminence enjoys.

At the laying of the cornerstone of the new $9,000,000 National Press Club in Washington, Thursday, April 8th, by President Calvin Coolidge, the following invocation was delivered by the Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University of America:

Look down, we beseech Thee, O Heavenly Father on Thy children gathered here this day to lay the foundations of a house of knowledge that shall be forever sacred to justice and truth, to charity and peace; that shall forever promote the common interests of mankind and unite it ever more closely in the ties of universal brotherhood and world-wide service of all that seems good before Thee. We are grateful to Thee for the ever widening range

of those invisible agencies of power and accuracy by which all the happenings of life are collected and distributed, by which all human needs and wants are served with a vision and a fullness that admit no obstacle and sweep away all barriers.

Grant, we beseech Thee, O Son of Justice and Mirror of Truth, that this splendid diffusion of the facts and events of man's daily life may ever proceed in harmony with the rights of truth and fair play, of the moral betterment of our people, and the improvement of each man's heart and conscience.

May this noble edifice be ever favorable to the welfare of the home, the school and the neighborhood, yea, of city, state and nation.

May its world-wide operations defend and promote the broadest interest of religion, reverence and respect.

May it be ever sympathetic to Thy rights in Thine own world, if only by way of gratitude for the ineffable new blessings of communication that Thou hast bestowed on mankind for its happiness and progress, for its comfort and consolation, for its relief in peril and distress: Grant, O Lord, we ask with humble insistence, that as we appear before Thee in the chief city of this great nation and under the headship of the foremost man of our Republic, so may this imposing edifice shine forever as a mighty beacon set firm and high above the unstable surface of daily life. May it reflect forever that new ideal of public welfare which the founders of our Republic realized in their lives and their institutions and transmitted to us: the right of reasonable freedom in all respects and for all men, political, religious, social, educational and economic, a freedom born on the one hand of the New World's limitless nature and on the other hand of equally marvelous designs of Thy Providence.

We pray Thee, finally, O God of love and mercy, that this edifice may be ever an apostle of peace among the people of the world, and of cordial domestic harmony; that in all its works and deeds it may be a constructive and helpful influence, and, may win for our National Capital an ever increasing measure of respect and good-will, even from the ends of the earth and the remotest dwellers therein.

A significant feature of the cornerstone laying was the presence of the delegates to the Pan-American Congress of Journalists—then in session in the city. In a brilliant address of welcome to the delegates President Coolidge said:

> The early inhabitants of colonial South America established centers of culture earlier than similar agencies were established in English colonial possessions in North America. No less than eight institutions of higher learning were founded prior to the establishment, in 1636, of

Harvard, the oldest university in the United States. The Royal and Pontifical University of St. Paul, in Mexico, and the Greater University of St. Mark, in Lima, both were chartered by royal decree in the year 1551. These institutions were intended to equip their pupils for the priesthood, just as the first schools in North America were designed primarily to train young men for the ministry.

Printing in the New World first appeared in Latin America. The first printing press this side of the Atlantic was set up in Mexico in 1535 and the second in Lima in 1586. It was not until 1639 that the first printing press in what is now the United States was used in Cambridge, Mass. The dissemination of news in printed form was resorted to in South America as early as 1594. A leaflet published in Lima gave to the public the news of the capture of an English pirate. About 1620 news leaflets frequently appeared in Mexico and Lima, but publications resembling later-day newspapers in any degree were not attempted until 1772.

All this culture, be it remembered, was fostered by the Catholic Church. President Coolidge did a graceful service to the visiting Latin American journalists when he thus paid tribute to the early educational achievements of their countries.

During the past year, the main library of the University has been increased by 10,037 volumes on various subjects, making a total of 260,158 volumes. The largest single collection of the year came through the generosity of Dr. Roderick A. MacEachen, professor of apologetics. The collection is at once unique and valuable, containing as it does a copy of the catechism of Christian doctrine in use in each diocese in practically every country in the world. The collection is the work of great labor and of many years and contains more than 2,900 volumes. Another large collection is that bequeathed by the late Rev. Dr. Charles F. Aiken, formerly dean of the School of Sacred Sciences and contains many rare volumes on the religions of the Orient. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward A. Pace, vice-rector, is the donor of 940 volumes on philosophy.

The Catholic University of America recently received as a bequest from Mrs. Myles Poore O'Connor of San Jose, Calif., the sum of $100,000 for the establishment of four ecclesiastical scholarships for the benefit of students from the archdiocese of San Francisco. These scholarships will be established in perpetuity and will be available in the near future. Mrs. O'Connor, formerly Miss Amanda Young, is a native of Carrolton, Ohio. The names of Mrs. O'Connor and that of her husband, Judge Myles O'Connor, are identified with many donations to charity and education. Mrs. O'Connor is also a benefactor of Trinity College of this city, an institution affiliated with the university. To it she gave an art collection and a large residence hall.

Another munificent donation of $15,000 came from Miss Mary B. McKee of the archdiocese of Baltimore. Miss McKee has been a benefactor of the university on previous occasions. She gave also at the same time $1,000 to the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception. A like amount was received for the national shrine through the generosity of Rev. F. J. Butler of Somerville, Mass.

The second annual exhibition of the Architectural Society of the Catholic University was held early in June in the working rooms of the department of architecture in the gymnasium. Many artistic designs featured the display, and drew to the well-filled rooms a continuous stream of visitors. The exhibition set a precedent for excellence, and has been highly praised. "A Municipal Carillon Tower," the work of John Miller of Cleveland, was the center of attraction. For this work Mr. Miller was awarded second prize in the recent Fontainbleau prize competition and a scholarship in the Fontainbleau School of Fine Arts in Paris.

Among the hangings at the exhibition were three medal-winning pieces by Thomas Locraft of Washington and two by Mr. Miller. Other medal-winning pieces shown were those of Edward Pairo of Washington, who has two; James Hogan, Hartford, Conn.; Robert Tucci, Trenton, N. J.; George E. Cappelear of Washington, and Joseph Bierstein, Philadelphia. In addition there were a large number of works, which received honorable mention in several competitions held during the academic year. The decorations in the exhibition halls were the work of the students of architecture. The blending of colors and the arrangement of the lighting effects helped immeasurably to lend the artistic atmosphere necessary for the occasion.

The Catholic Anthropological Conference, a council which seeks the promotion of ethnological training for candidates for missionary work, the stimulation of ethnological research and the publication of scientific information thus produced by missionaries in the field, has been founded by a meeting recently held at Catholic University of America. Delegates to the meeting were representatives of missionary orders, congregations and agencies.

The Right Rev. Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., rector of the University, was unanimously elected president of the conference and the Rev. John M. Cooper, Ph.D., of Catholic University, secretary. The Very Rev. Michael Mathis, C.S.C., Superior of the Foreign Mission Seminary, Brookland, D. C., the Rev. Albert Muntsch, S. J., of St. Louis University, the Rev. Leopold Tibesar, A.F.M., of Maryknoll, N. Y., Monsignor William Hughes, Director, Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, and Monsignor William Quinn, National Director in the United States of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, were elected the executive board of the conference.

Missionary work begins with a study of the people to be converted and most of this knowledge comes from missionaries who have actually gone into the field, it is said in a statement of the aims of the new conference.

The conference plans to put information gained through this system of ethnological research before the world in a yearbook. In this endeavor it will be guided somewhat by "Anthropos," a European Catholic publication, one of the best if not the best standard periodical publication in the whole field, and by "Semaine D'ethnologie Religieuse," which was held at the University of the Sacred Heart at Milan last September, but will not be connected with either project. Neither is the conference to be connected with any university (although the Catholic University is to act as a sort of clearing house) or order, but is organized by all those orders and agencies represented at the recent meeting. Applications for membership are to be passed upon by the executive board.

Great events of deep religious importance have very often a way of taking place with very little ostentation, though always with due regard to all that is worthwhile and, indeed, most becoming. Thus the formal opening on Easter Sunday of the great crypt of the National Shrine at the Catholic University of America was heralded but slightly in the public press, yet takes its place as one of the outstanding religious observances of the present year.

Right fittingly His Excellency, the Most Rev. Pietro Fumasoni Biondi, D.D., Apostolic Delegate to the United States, personal representative of the Holy Father in this country, was chosen to celebrate the Solemn Pontifical Mass. The altar, at which he stood was one at which in colonial times Archbishop Carroll offered the Holy Sacrifice. This uniting of the earliest with the newest, in the equipment of the great temple to arise there in honor of the Blessed Mother, links the humble beginnings of the Church in this country with the glory of Catholicity in these States to-day.

There is another link, too; and it is found in the perseverance of those filled with zeal for the Church of God, who have labored with surpassing sacrifice to bring about the present happy condition of affairs. Bishop Shahan, rejoicing in this triumph of Catholicity in our day, as he sees this great temple arising, is sure to realize the spirit of sacrificing perseverance, which animated Archbishop Carroll in the days when he used this altar in his mother's house because of the religious intolerance that raged about him.

With the enlarged facilities offered by the new crypt, the Catholic University takes a step forward of great service to the many priests who hallow that ground daily with their holy Masses. The work thus far accomplished, however, is but to keep pace with the needs of the university; and that same advancing pace will just as inevitably bring to pass the final triumph of the completed Shrine, the great national basilica in the heart of the nation to our national patroness, the Immaculate Mother of God.

The Rev. Doctor Romain Butin, a member of the Marist Society, professor of Oriental languages and Curator of the Museum at the Catholic University of America, sailed at the end of June for the Holy Land. He has been appoined Annual Professor and Acting Director of the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem for the year 1926-1927.

The school is supported mainly by American institutions among which is the Catholic University of America. The aim of the school is purely scientific, viz., to extend knowledge of the geography, history, archaeology and languages of Biblical Lands and, according to opportunities, to carry out explorations and excavations.

The association also supports a parallel school in Irak at Bagdad. Each of the schools is governed by a permanent director, assisted by an annual professor selected from among the leading American Biblical or Semitic scholars. The permanent director of the American School at Jerusalem is Prof. W. F. Albright of Johns Hopkins University. Prof. Albright is going to spend the coming year in the United States and Dr. Butin will act as director during his absence. Under Prof. Albright the American School of Jerusalem has excavated the old site of Gibeah of Benjamin, modern Tell-el-Ful, and is now coöperating with the Xenia Theological Seminary in bringing to light the ancient city of Kiriath Sepher in Southern Palestine.

The appointment of Prof. Butin shows the broadness of view of the board of trustees of the American School of Oriental Research. He is the first Catholic priest who has ever been elected to that office.

The Reverend Dr. Romain Butin, S.M. was born in France in 1871. Having completed his college course in his native country, he came to America in 1890. Here he joined the Society of Mary and took up his philosophical and theological studies at the Scholasticate of the Society. He was ordained in 1897. In 1898 he matriculated at the Catholic University where he received the degree of S.T.L. in 1900 and that of Ph.D. in 1904. He was then appointed Professor of Apologetics, Sacred Scripture and Hebrew at the Marist College. In 1908 he was sent to Jefferson College, La., as Professor of Philosophy. In 1912 he was appointed Instructor of Semitic Languages at the Catholic University, Associate Professor in 1916 and full Professor in 1923.

In 1917 he was appointed Curator of the Museum of the Catholic University, and published the history of the Museum in the Catholic University Bulletin, March 1918. Under his curatorship the Museum has greatly expanded and has become a distinct feature in the educational system of the University.

He is besides Secretary of the Consulting Committee for the Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium, an Oriental Patrology, published jointly by the Catholic University of America and the Catholic University of Louvain.

Apart from several articles in the Catholic Encyclopedia, and book reviews in various periodicals, Dr. Butin has written the following books and articles:

The Ten Nequdoth of the Torah, Baltimore, 1906.

Progressive Lessons in Hebrew, Washington, 1915.

Key to Progressive Lessons in Hebrew, Washington, 1915.

"Hebrew in our Seminaries," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 1914.

"The Scriptural Use of the Word 'Wine'," *ibid.*, 1915.

"The Bread of the Bible," *ibid.*, 1918.

"Some Leaves of an Egyptian Jewish Ritual," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1919.

Although it has been organized only since January, the American Catholic Philosophical Association already has a membership which includes twenty-five members of the American Hierarchy, with twelve life members and twenty-seven institutional members. So the Secretary, Rev. Dr. James H. Ryan, announced recently.

At the same time it was announced that His Eminence, Cardinal Bisleti, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, had addressed a letter to the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward A. Pace, vice-rector of the Catholic University and president of the association, expressing great pleasure at the news of the founding of the organization and declaring:

"We have the highest hopes that under your direction the study of Christian philosophy will be increasingly developed with most beneficial results not only to ecclesiastical but to civil and domestic society as well."

On Friday afternoon, May 28th, there took place the blessing of the new South wing of the Anthony Nicholas Brady Memorial Hall at the Catholic Sisters College. His Excellency The Most Rev. Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, was celebrant on the occasion, assisted by the Right Reverend Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Rector of the Catholic University of America, the Very Reverend Patrick J. McCormick, Ph.D., Dean of the Catholic Sisters College, and members of the faculty. The Reverend Edward B. Jordan, D.D., was Master of Ceremonies.

The new South wing of the Brady Memorial Hall completes the large main building which is at present used for administrative offices, dining-hall, lecture rooms and laboratory. The whole building is in the style of the Italian Renaissance, and consists of a central unit 104 feet long and 54 feet deep, two stories high, with two perpendicular wings 120 feet long and 40 feet wide, connected with the central structure by means of arcaded passageways. The building is of tapestry brick work, with trimmings of Bedford Indiana limestone.

The new South wing will be devoted to work in Biology, Physics, and Chemistry. There are laboratories, lecture halls, and professors' studies, all equipped with the latest and best facilities for the study of these sciences. The Sisters College is thus equipped to give full courses in all of these sciences without depending upon the laboratories at the University.

The address was made by the Very Reverend Patrick J. McCormick, Ph.D., Dean of the Sisters College. He outlined the history of the institution since its inception in 1912. At the present time 136 Sisters are enrolled at the College, representing fifty-nine communities and twenty-eight States of the Union. There is a faculty of thirty professors, most of whom are members of the faculty of the Catholic University of America.

"The influence of the Sisters College has been nation-wide in scope. Every year its student body, like that of the present year, has had representatives in goodly numbers from the North and East and the distant States of the South and West. Forty-two States of the Union have sent students; the Philippine Islands; the provinces of Canada; and foreign countries have also been, at various times, represented by individual Sisters or small groups of students. Few dioceses of

the country, having Catholic schools in any appreciable number, have not felt the influence of this central training school.

"The Sisters College is governed by a Board of Trustees chosen or elected from the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University. It is therefore, like the University, subject to the direction of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in this country. From the Bishops, under the Holy See, it must receive its direction as well as its control, and its purposes may only be to serve those interests of Holy Church which are connected with the preparation of her teaching Sisterhoods. It has been favored from the beginning of its noble career with the explicit blessings of the Holy See. The late Pope Pius X in his letter of January 5, 1912, to Cardinal Gibbons, said, 'It was furthermore a pleasure to learn from you that the Bishops who are the Directors of the University had, with prudent foresight, devised a plan whereby the teaching Sisters also, without in any way slackening the observance of their religious rules, might more easily enjoy the advantages of University study and thus attain greater efficiency in their work of educating girls.' The saintly Pontiff blessed the plans for the original scheme of the buildings of the Sisters College as he had warmly approved of its purpose and aim.

"This occasion which marks the completion of the first permanent building of the College proper would hardly be complete without a review of what the College is and stands for, what it has undergone and accomplished in its first years. If there be cause for satisfaction or gratification to-day over what has been accomplished, it is due in no small measure to the sacrifices of all who have been identified with it from its origin; the generous patrons who as individuals or members of the Sisters College League have substantially aided it from the beginning; the devoted Sister students whose prayers and good works have been unceasing in its behalf; the Professors of the University who have been unstinted in their services and devotion, and especially the late Very Reverend Dr. Thomas E. Shields, the first Dean of the College, who everywhere and at all times proclaimed the needs of the institution and who gave the best of his energy and zeal to its foundation and secure establishment."

Bishop Shahan in his address paid particular tribute to the family of Anthony Nicholas Brady to whose generosity the completion of Brady Memorial Hall is due. The ceremonies closed with Solemn Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the College chapel.

One of the largest single additions yet to be made to the library of the Catholic University recently came into its possession through the generosity of Senor Ernesto Quesada of Buenos Aires. The library, which is the private collection of Senor Quesada, together with the books and manuscripts of his father, who was for a long time Minister of Argentine to various foreign powers, contains 70,000 volumes and 22,000 manuscripts. The great gift, added to the recently acquired library of Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, will constitute a collection of 110,000 volumes and more than 30,000 manuscripts, covering the entire intellectual development of South America from its discovery.

The two libraries containing the gifts of Dr. Lima and Senor Quesada will remain separate and will be designated as the Lima collection and the Quesada

collection, although they will have the common title of the Ibero-American library. The Lima library is now in order and open on the third floor of McMahon Hall. The Quesada collection will be placed in the new John K. Mullen library when it is completed in the autumn and will be accessible to all shortly after that.

Following the lines of the Oxford Conference held during August of last year, a Summer School will be held at Havre from August 2nd to 8th.

Mr. John Eppstein, who was the most active promotor of the Oxford Conference says that the Havre Summer School would, in his opinion, be the most serious and systematic conference ever held by Catholics on the Continent for the study of all that concerns international peace.

The Universal Knowledge Foundation has handed over to the printer the copy for the first volume of the new general reference work, *Universal Knowledge*. Those preparing the work are the editors of *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, and they propose now to present a general encyclopedia which will, "while giving correct information on every subject of human interest, impress on all the reasonableness and need of religion and its dominant influence on human life." They also will publish other shorter works. Among the editors are Monsignor Edward A. Pace, vice-rector of the Catholic University of America; Condé B. Pallem; Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University of America; James J. Walsh, M.D., and the Rev. John J. Wynne, S.J.

With the announcement that the copy for the first volume is ready, the Foundation gives some statistics on the magnitude of the work. The first volume will have a list of titles of articles exceeding 4,000, and the number of writers occupied in writing these articles is 183. Contributors who have volunteered to write for the new work already exceed 2,000, about 750 of whom wrote for *The Catholic Encyclopedia*.

The number of subscribers for the Foundation, it is announced, is now approaching 3,000, including more than 100 Bishops, 500 schools, 1,500 priests and 800 laymen. The Foundation is now fully organized. It has just moved its headquarters to 19 Union Square, West, New York, in the Van Buren Building, where its executive offices and editorial rooms and library occupy the entire tenth floor. There is ample accommodation for both writers and those who wish to consult books in the library. The Foundation has become, without intending it, a bureau of information and research concerning Catholicity.

The editors now propose to publish a record of their experiences with the preparation of the first volume, in pamphlet form, as a prospectus of the new work for the Founders, Patrons and members of the Foundation.

On June 2nd, "Columbia," the American Society at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) closed a two-day celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation.

The festivities opened with a Solemn High Mass sung by Msgr. P. Kirsch, who for 25 years has been the protector and counsellor of Americans at the Catholic University. A Requiem High Mass was sung by the Rev. John A. Elbert, S.M., the latest ordained American in Fribourg.

A new banner, the gracious gift of the Baroness Leo de Grafenried, who was Irma R. Stern, daughter of Louis Stern of New York, was blessed by Bishop Marius Besson of Geneva-Lausanne-Fribourg. Madame de Grafenried and Mr. Hugh Gibson, American Minister at Berne, were the sponsors. A literary-musical program and a banquet and reception closed the celebration.

"Columbia" was founded November 20, 1901 It was the first American student society on the Continent.

The purpose of "Columbia" is to foster Catholic American ideals among Americans at the University of Fribourg. The society, officially known as the "Columbia Reading Circle," holds monthly meetings at which papers are read on philosophical, theological, literary and scientific questions. Every year professors of the University welcome the opportunity of addressing Americans at Fribourg on interesting new phases of their work. Annual literary-musical programs are prepared for the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving Day, and the university public is invited. A Solemn High Mass on Thanksgiving Day and a sermon with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament on the feast of the Immaculate Conception unite all Americans in some Fribourg chapel every year. The society sponsors all American interests in every phase of University life.

It is of interest to note that a former student of the Catholic University of America, Fr. Reginald Hughes, O.P., during the past two years was one of the most active officials of the Fribourg organization.

The New York *Times* (May 23rd) discussing an exhibition of recent European examples of fine printing held in New York says :

The specimens exhibited were collected in Europe by Henry Lewis Bullen, Curator of the Typographic Library and Museum of the American Type Founders Company of Jersey City, and include examples of fine color printing, lithography and all forms of art and commercial printing from France, Italy, Germany, Austria and Hungary. The exhibition is given under the auspices of the New York Club of Printing House Craftsmen, a group of executives, superintendents and foremen engaged in the printing industry.

Mr. Bullen addressed members of this organization and their guests at the formal opening.

"There is too general an impression in this country," he said, "that we have little to learn from Europe in the field of graphic arts. But my year's sojourn in Europe convinced me that in many respects the Europeans are ahead of us, a condition largely due to the opportunities offered there for expert instruction. Here in the United States the printer learns his profession in the shops, through his own observation, a slow and difficult process. After years and years of unguided effort he finally achieves a foremanship, possibly becomes a manager.

"On the Continent there are several great schools of the graphic arts supported by the Government or the municipalities, which are every year turning out skilled craftsmen whose work I have brought here for you to see. At Leipsic, Vienna and Turin schools of this type are supplying trained men to the great industrial concerns which vie with each other in obtaining their services."

Europe excels us especially in the use of design and color in art printing, said Mr. Bullen, although America is the leader in black and white. Printing concerns here, he said, were afraid to use color, due to lack of knowledge and expertness. While there were many designers, he explained, their services involved great expense, as well as delay to the printer, who should have in his own office a staff of designers. "The printer here is a builder, not an artist," he declared.

"The earliest representation of Noah's Ark" is one of the most remarkable of the recent discoveries made at Ur, Mesopotamia, by archeologists of the British Museum in coöperation with scientists of the University of Pennsylvania, according to a report received from Leonard Woolley, leader of the party.

Mr. Woolley tells of finding houses occupied five thousand years ago and of tracing the inner face of the great wall built in the sacred area of ancient Ur, by King Nebuchadnezzar. Inside of this wall the scientists found some houses containing ancient works of art.

"Close to these," Mr. Woolley's report continues, "there was a little plaque of alabaster carved on both sides. The scene represented is a boat made of reeds tied together, with its stern rising high in the air. On one side a man is standing at the stern, while in the cabin is a pig. On the other side the pig's place is taken by a goose, and two fish are hanging against the stern by a string. Here is a piece illustrating the life of the marsh dwellers, in this case a prehistoric folk, later in Babylonian history the people of the sea, to-day the marsh Arabs.

"The temptation to see more in it than this was too strong. We called it Noah's Ark, and as the earliest representation of Noah's Ark it will take its place among the treasurers of Ur."

Abbe Grébaut, pastor of a parish in Normandy, has returned from Ethiopia, where he had been entrusted with an important mission by the Vatican Library. Abbe Grébaut had been instructed to go to Addis-Abeba to search for data for the compilation of a catalogue of ancient Ethiopian manuscripts.

During his mission he had the great satisfaction of discovering nineteen manuscripts of the highest interest in the ancient Geez language and in the classic Ethiopian.

Father Licent, a French missionary, has arrived in Paris from China for a stay of about a year after which he will return to Thibet where the French Paleontological Expedition is to resume its work. Father Licent's mission is to secure men and funds for this expedition.

Father Licent has published an important work of some two thousand pages relating his extraordinary discoveries, during a period of ten years, in the basin of the Yellow River in China.

All the material discovered has been classified and is available for study in the museum of Hoang-Ho, at Tien-Sin, where the buildings and equipment represent an expenditure of a million francs. The museum was built by the explorer himself.

With Father Teilhard de Chardin, professor at the Catholic Institute of Paris, Father Licent last year made a long exploration which resulted in some startling discoveries of paleolithic deposits in the desert of Gobi. The scope of these discoveries may be imagined when it is stated that the photographic records contain more than 8,000 films.

The monument to Cardinal Consalvi which the city of Rome has raised to his memory in the Pincian Gardens to commemorate his centenary was solemnly unveiled some weeks ago. A stirring address was given to a vast crowd by Egilberto Martire, the young eloquent deputy who deserves so well of all Catholic causes in Rome.

Cardinal Consalvi's relation to the Cardinal Duke of York, and his status as Protector of the Venerable English College, was not forgotten, and Mgr. Hinsley, the rector, was officially invited to attend.

Martire looked not only into the past—Consalvi, Napoleon, and their time—but also into the future, invoking the "suprema concordia" between the Holy See and Italy. Mgr. Zonghi, President of the Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici (where Consalvi was educated) performed the ritual blessing in the presence of representatives of the Government, of the City of Rome, and many ecclesiastics and prominent lay folk.

The Archdiocese of Kingston, Ontario, celebrated recently the first centenary of its erection as a diocese by Pope Leo XII, in a brief dated January 27, 1826. The Catholic *Register* says:

> It is a far cry from the Indian wilderness of the days of Frontenac with its fort and trading post, through the later vicissitudes and heroisms of the Highland Catholic colony of Glengarry under the saintly Macdonnell, when but two priests were to be found in the whole territory between Montreal and Detroit, down to the present with its wonderful tale of Catholic development and growth under the hand of Divine Providence and through the human agencies of a devoted priesthood and a loyal people coöperating for the things of the spirit and the honor and glory of God.
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> Where in 1804 two lonely shepherds in toil and fatigue ministered to the scattered flock in the vast reaches of Upper Canada, to-day there are sixty-one secular and regular priests; and where in 1804 but two primitive churches housed the rites of religion, to-day there are forty-two churches with resident priests and twenty-three missions with

churches. The Archdiocese also has its due complement of religious, educational and charitable institutions, including a college for boys, an academy for young ladies, forty-one separate schools, an orphan asylum and three hospitals. What in the day of its beginnings was the Catholic population of the diocese we do not know; it was a small, widely-dispersed and timorous little flock of Indians, half-breeds and hardy pioneers—Irish, Scotch and French. But to-day the Archdiocese of Kingston has an estimated Catholic population of some 45,000 souls.

The great name of Alexander Macdonnell leads the list of prelates who have made Kingston famous. Pastor of St. Raphael's, in the colony of Gaelic Scots at Glengarry from the year 1804, he was named Vicar-Apostolic of the Vicariate of Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario, when in 1817 the Diocese of Quebec was erected into an archdiocese and the western portion detached as a vicariate. Consecrated on December 31, 1820, in the Ursuline Chapel at Quebec, he continued to reside at St. Raphael's until 1826, when the vicariate was created a diocese—the first diocese established in a British colony since the Reformation. The new bishop, however, did not definitely reside at Kingston until 1836, but lived mostly at the then primitive town of York, now the prosperous city of Toronto.

Kingston has been the parent of other dioceses. In 1841 the western region was erected into the Diocese of Toronto, and the eastern territory into the Diocese of Ottawa (Bytown) in 1884. In 1874 the Vicariate-Apostolic of Northern Canada was erected, to become, in its turn, the Diocese of Peterborough in 1882. When the diocese was made an archdiocese by a Brief dated July 28, 1889, the Right Rev. J. V. Cleary became the first Archbishop, and the Counties of Glengarry, Stormont and Cornwall were separated from Kingston and erected into the Diocese of Alexandria. The suffragan Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie was erected in 1904.

Through the efforts of a Dominician Father, it is believed that the famous Biblical altar of Joshua, constructed about the fifteenth century B. C., has at last been found. It is remarkable that an actual altar has been discovered, whereas centuries of previous search had not even revealed the site.

Father Raphael Canneau, a professor at the Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne in Jerusalem, is the man who made the discovery, after a series of new researches based on premises not used before.

When the Israelites came out of the desert, according to the Bible, and, Moses having died in the land of Moab, crossed the Jordan under the guidance of Joshua, they confronted the city of Jericho. This city they took, then consolidated their first conquests by capturing the city of Hai, after which they advanced as far as Sichel.

It is related, after the account of the fall of Hai, that Joshua "built an altar to the Lord the God of Israel in Mount Hebal," and that, according to the command of Moses, it was "an altar of unhewn stones which iron had not touched."

Upon this altar, it is further related, Joshua offered holocausts to the Lord and read to the people the blessings promised to those who faithfully followed the law and the punishment reserved for those who transgressed. The Bible describes the scene thus:

"And all the people and the ancients and the princes and judges stood on both sides of the ark, before the priests that carried the ark of the covenant of the Lord, both the stranger and he that was born among them, half of them by Mount Garizim, and half by Mount Hebal, as Moses the servant of the Lord had commanded."

Now Mount Garizim and Mount Hebal are the two highest points in Samaria to-day, and belong to the range of mountains that crosses Palestine and forms the vertebra of the country. They overlook the plain, or plateau, that Jacob, in his own picturesque terms, said extended toward the south like two powerful horns.

Numberless explorers of Palestine and pilgrims to the Holy Places have searched in this territory for the site of the impressive ceremony described in the Bible, but without avail. Most of them sought the altar of Joshua on the plateau between Garizim and Hebal. However, they had great difficulty in reconciling the terrain to the Biblical account, chiefly because of the comparatively great distance between the two mounts, which is more than two miles in a direct line.

Father Canneau took an altogether fresh start on the problem. He first discussed it thoroughly, then made a careful examination of the Biblical text. He observed a certain valley that runs up to the two flanks of Mount Hebal and Mount Garizim, forming a sort of amphitheatre.

Immediately he conceived the picture of the ark, the altar and the priests in the center of the valley, with the people gathered on the two sides in such position that they might see the altar and hear the words of Joshua. This seemed approximately to fulfill the requirements of the Biblical account, since the people would be "by Mount Garizim" and "by Mount Hebal," yet within sight of the altar.

Having thus localized the probable position of the altar and harmonized it with the Scriptural description, he began his search. He found, near the spot where he had theoretically placed the altar, seven great blocks of stone, disposed in a semi-circle, with a broad stone at the center. The central stone was of such a height that it might well serve to-day as an altar. It is 1.16 meters long, 1.13 meters broad and from 20 to 40 centimeters thick.

The discovery is regarded as of great value in the study of the Israelites' history through monuments they have left. There already are known some Semitic altars, but this example is believed to be the first example of an authentic Israelitic altar.

The Palace of the Emperor Diocletian, the biterest persecutor of Christianity in the early days of the Roman Empire has been unearthed at Spalato, the present capital of Dalmatia, by the octogenarian archeologist, Monsignor Dr. Bulic. Dr. Bulic has been identified with antiquarian research in his native

Dalmatia for nearly half a century. His discoveries have lifted a ponderous segment from antiquity which reveals the extension of Christianity on the eastern shores of the Adriatic as early as the third century.

In the immediate vicinity of the site where Diocletian built his palace, on the spot that is now Spalato, where he retired after 20 years of rule, Christian communities were rising as early as his time. In the amphitheater of the rich Roman town of Salona which stood about four miles from Diocletian's palace died their martyrs—Roman soldiers, officials, citizens and priests thrown before wild beasts by the Emperor's order.

Meanwhile heathenism, basking in the imperial splendor, was rejoicing in the brilliant palace which the great persecutor of Christians had built on the seaside, an enormous square covering 120 square miles. Four thousand people now live within the walls. There Diocletian had built a magnificent temple to Jupiter, a mausoleum for himself and great monuments to perpetuate the centuries of rule and triumph of heathenism over Christianity, a sect he sought to stifle in its own blood.

The Emperor died in 313 and to-day the marble coffers of the temple shelter a baptistry. The mausoleum has became the Cathedral of the Archbishop of Spalato and the huge octagon forming the imperial mausoleum, the medallions of the god Hermes, of the Emperor and his consort Prisca, look down on Christian altars. The graves of the Emperor and Empress have disappeared and where once stood their sarcophagi the Christian faithful are kneeling and singing hymns to the eternal God.

On the outer side of the Cathedral, following the well-preserved peristyle, Monsignor Dr. Bulic has now laid open a large portico which surrounded the mausoleum. Beautiful mosaic arches have been brought to light but are to be covered over again as the archaeologist is now disposing of the funds necessary for an adequate protection of these fine works in another manner. The excavations here have not yet been completed and bid fair to produce further rich finds.

Oddly enough, the question of the proprietorship of these valuables has not been determined, despite that these fields of research have become the mecca for scintists of all countries. A bill that would make these discoveries the property of the state has been lying in parliament at Belgrade, impossible of passage in the confusion prevailing there.

"I sought under the former Austrian Government," Monsignor Bulic has said, "to have these grounds, so important to the history of early Christianity, made public property, for it must always be feared that the needs of Spalato (in Croatian now called Split) which is expanding in a modern way, might bring about the loss of these invaluable discoveries. However, the fear of legal contests which might arise with the citizens of Spalato as a consequence has prevented any decision on the Government's part. People of Spalato have been living for centuries among the ruins.

"But I must recognize with praise that the former Austria, though not taking the obligations of an owner, did a great deal for the preservation of the works of art, and in a particular way for the old Christian excavations in Salona. The large modern museum which now contains the countless treasures from the ruins

of Salona was built by Austrian public money between 1911 and 1914, or else we hardly would have had time to erect such a fine building by now."

Through recent excavations the picture of the old Christian town which was destroyed in or about 620, during the stormy migrations of people has been completed. Rising uphill the town, the foundation of which can be traced back to the heathen era of the second century before Christ, surrounded by sturdy walls extends in a triangular form from the sea inland. Salona possessing two large theatres, well fitted with baths and waterworks, rich residences, many churches with graveyards, large monastery, the outside wall of which protected the graves of the martyrs of Salona, and a large episcopal basilica. Under this latter edifice rests a still older church with three naves of the Fourth Century. In a still lower strata the remnants of the first small Christian house of God were found. In the graveyards are found numerous trough coffins of stone, adorned with Christian signs and inscriptions attesting the faithfulness of the first Christians of that country.

Excavations made by a Danish scientific party disclosed the rest of a graveyard church of the Fourth Century. It had been erected over the grave of a Martyr, Austerius, a priest who suffered death under Diocletian, probably in the amphitheater in Salona. The stone presses which provided oil and wine for the Divine Sacrifice, are still standing at this place. The mosaics recently found in the vineyard of a farmer date back to the heathen period. It is becoming clearly evident how in this place heathendom was vanquished step by step by Christianity. In the days of the Emperor Constantine a large Christian community could have sprung up.

Outside Italy there are few places where the book of history is open so widely and legibly for one to read of early Christians as in Salona and Spalato.

The *Universe* says regarding the recent celebration of the Centenary of Bishop Milner's death:

> By a coincidence, the year in which the centenary of Bishop Milner's death falls is also the centenary of the alleged Cardinalate of the famous historian with whom "the English Athanasius" was so often at variance —not in conflict, for it takes two to make a conflict, and John Lingard eschewed controversy whenever he could avoid it. Into those once hotly disputed differences of opinion in which the historian was not in sympathy with the Bishop, and into those historical questions in regard to which the Bishop thought that the historian was not enough of a champion of "the Catholic side," this is not the place to enter. Suffice it to say that the two had different functions to discharge, their temperaments were different. Catholics of to-day owe much to both, and can show themselves true Catholics in every sense of the term by admiring both and being grateful to both, as in the not altogether dissimilar case of Cardinals Newman and Manning.
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> John Lingard's aim was to show that Catholicism had nothing to lose by an impartial presentment of history, and by patience, by

thoroughness of research, by a studiously judicial tone, he has won a place among the recognized masters of history. To read Lingard after a course of Macaulay is like reading the summing-up of a judge after being excited and fascinated by a brilliant display of forensic eloquence. Whether Leo XII. in 1826 did indeed create John Lingard a Cardinal *in petto* was once a subject of acute controversy. John Lingard himself believed that the alleged event did happen, and his belief may by most students of his career and writings be deemed decisive, for he was not desirous of the honor and preferred the quiet seclusion of his country mission to all the grandeur of Rome. The pros and cons were summed up in a memorable article in "The Rambler" (vol. II., new series, 1860, p. 75) by "Z," who is known to have been Lord Acton, who thinks it highly probable that Lingard "who never was moved to swerve from truth by even religious affections," was so honored, for he was held in such high esteem at Rome just for the very reason that by his strict impartiality he had won a hearing for views of history which dissipated black clouds of Protestant calumny.

Challoner and Milner are the two great names that stand out in the dull, drab, depressing story of Catholic England during the eighteenth century. They were well known to, and highly honored by, our forefathers, but they seem now to have passed into history and are rarely remembered.

Challoner, born in 1691, lived to a great age, and was one of the last to see the latest martyrs of Tyburn. Milner, born in 1752, was his pupil, friend, and successor. Bishop Milner died in 1826 at the age of seventy-four, and it is the centenary of his death that we have now just celebrated.

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In his famous sermon on the "Second Spring," addressed to the first Synod of the restored Hierarchy of England at Oscott some sixty years later, Newman, preaching in the place of which Milner had been the real founder, spoke of him as "one whose name is too great and too venerable, too dear to all Catholics to be confined to any part of England, when it is rather a household word in the mouths of us all." But, in the time that has passed since then, it is to be feared that the name of Milner and the knowledge of the good work he did have passed away in the mists of memory.

Milner was in every way the disciple of Challoner. He had in fact been brought up from boyhood under the older man, the Venerable Bishop of his day. It was Challoner who had him taught and trained him in his religion, and who sent him, a schoolboy of fourteen, to Douai, to be educated for the English Mission, where he was later ordained, coming back to London as a priest in 1777. It is curious to note that these two men, who lived in such close companionship as friends and fellow workers in the same field, and who were both bishops in the Church, were so different and even opposite in temperament and character. Challoner was always a man of a great and winning gentleness, while Milner was

ever a fighter. The one was known even during life as the saintly bishop, and his manner spoke of his habitual peace in a life of prayer. The other, and younger man, by his open ways and his dress might well have been taken for a country squire in all his vigorous manhood and activities. Yet he, we read, was widely loved by little children.

Both these great men and bishops based their lives and actions upon a deep and solid spirituality as their vital inspiration. This was the firm foundation of their religion. From that everything rose naturally. Theirs were the old dour days in which Catholics got nothing but poverty and hard work and the contempt of their fellows for being members of a proscribed sect. Yet these two old-fashioned priests did their duty to God and their people, and so carried on the faltering life of the Church in England. They did it all in the face of hostility and contumely. They were looked down upon by their neighbors as inferiors and of no social account. Even amongst Catholics they were spoken of and addressed only as "Mr.," the respectful title of "Father" not having yet been adopted.

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Although active persecution had ceased the worst results of the Penal Law still continued. The numbers of Catholics in England had been greatly reduced from one cause or another. The old substantial well-to-do families had been brought down to poverty by the unceasing imposition of pains and penalties. Every attendance at Mass had to be paid for by a heavy fine in money. We, who live in these calm days of peace and prosperity within the Church, can have but a faint idea of the sorrows and sufferings of those penal times. For the laws that were enforced in the eighteenth century were most cleverly contrived for the purpose of crushing out the very life of the Church through her priests and people. It was only through the toil and tenacity of such men as Challoner and Milner and their faithful followers that the torch of Truth was carried forward and kept always burning down to to-day.

Milner was the great religious and controversial writer of his time. He was for ever busy pouring out pamphlets as the need required. It was due to his earnestness and eloquence that Parliament was induced to pass a Catholic Relief Act in 1791, which was a good beginning of the greater things that came later. But perhaps his name as a writer is best known by his having been the author of "The End of Controversy." This famous work became well and widely known even in his own day and has since been treasured for its persuasive power and its spiritual strength, and has been the cause of making a multitude of converts. We are glad to note that, as it is now out of print, it will probably be republished before long by the C. T. S. as a manual for the coming converts of our later generation.

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Appointed bishop in 1803, Milner's great episcopate lasted twenty-three years. It was a time of sterling and strenuous work for him and all his priests. He took up his residence at Wolverhampton and

was made Vicar Apostolic of the vast Midland district. He had to look after some seventy small Catholic congregations scattered around poor little chapels and poorer mission stations. There was endless hard work and numerous wearying journeys. One little fact will show the poverty of the Church in those days. Milner had, as the crosier with which he travelled, a thing made up of two walking sticks, one of them having a curved handle. On ceremonial occasions these two sticks were put together with a covering of silver cloth over the crook, and he often carried and used that old stick himself upon his long country journeys!

The French and the Spaniards designate as "Semaine," or "Semana" ("week") gatherings which we dignify with the name of Conference, or Congress. The latest "Week" of which we have record was that organized by the Confederation of Catholic Students in Spain. Of this "Week" the Madrid Correspondent of the N. C. W. C. News Service writes:

> The "Students' Week" achieved this year an importance never before attained in Spain, and the most important feature of all was the manner in which numerous professors and official elements of the educational world were won over by the enthusiasm of the young men and led to join the student movement.
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> In preceding years much of the activity centered around the "Students' Day," the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, celebrated on March 7, Primarily established as an official university holiday, at the request of the Confederation of Catholic Students, the feast day has had four years of agitated history. Suppressed at one time by a radical Minister of Education, the Catholic students succeeded in obtaining the revocation of the Ministerial Decree. Since then it has been celebrated with much splendor and enthusiasm.
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> This year, however, the "Week" was devoted to a cultural celebration, each day being devoted to academic sessions, excursions and students' meetings. A notable event was the evening session in the Academy of Law and Jurisprudence where addresses were made by the Ambassadors of the South American Republics in the name of the students of their respective nations. There are many Hispano-American students in the Confederation and plans are rapidly maturing to extend the organization of the Confederation to the New World. As a further link between the students of Spain and South America, a Hispano-American College is now being erected at Seville, and the Hispano-American Department of the University of Madrid, if established, would be the crowning achievement of this movement.
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> The most important change brought about by the Catholic students' movement is, however, the change in the spirit of the university professors. The proof of this change was brought out with striking evidence this year. Various universities, headed by their rectors, took part in the official manifestations of the "Students' Week." In some

cases the professors not only promoted and supported the petitions of the students, but delivered addresses and propaganda speeches, adding their personal tribute of praise for the work which the Catholic students are doing. In Madrid, particularly, more than thirty professors of the University attended the solemn religious function in the Cathedral.

Even the Royal Family sent its representative to the religious function in the person of the Prince of the Asturias, heir to the Spanish throne, who was accompanied by the Minister of Public Instruction and by his tutors.

Of greater interest still was the university session held in the Rey Alfonso Theater, and attended not only by the students and professors of the University of Madrid but by professors from many other universities and by the rectors of Valladolid, Granada and Valencia, by representatives of various academies and by His Majesty King Alfonso XIII., representing the Spanish Government.

The address delivered at this meeting in the presence of the King by the Minister of Public Instruction, was a fine tribute to the work which the Catholic students are doing. The Minister pointed out that, in his opinion, the finest achievement of the Confederation was the moral reform and revival of Christian civic pride among the student classes. In closing, he asked them to promote harmony and tolerance in dealing with students who do not share their convictions in order to secure friendly collaboration, but without renouncing their Catholic faith which he declared, is a great spiritual force.

The celebration of Students' Week was held in all parts of Spain, and achieved special distinction in Saragossa, Valencia, Seville and Granada.

It is estimated that the members of the Confederation, including the students of schools and institutes directed by Religious, number close to 40,000.

It has been announced that French scientists have finally succeeded in reading the Celtic calendar composed of 200 bronze fragments, discovered some years ago at Coligny in the Ain Department of France.

Expert archeologists spent months in cleaning and reproducing the fragments and a full plate was made by electroplating, which permitted the interpretation of the signs.

It is revealed that the Celtic year was composed of 355 days, with the months alternately thirty and twenty-nine days. Every two and a half years an extra month was inserted to catch up with the solar year. The calendar gives Celtic names for the months, but the meanings of the terms used have not yet been deciphered. The matter will be the subject of continued investigation until complete results are attained.

The second series of "The Fugger News Letters" are being published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. These letters were written in the sixteenth and early seven-

teenth centuries by correspondents of the international banking house of Fugger. They had lain untouched in the archives of the Vienna State Library until they were brought to light by their present editor, Mr. Victor von Klarwill. For the second series the editor has selected only such letters as refer to Queen Elizabeth and to affairs relating to England during the years 1568-1605. There are contemporary accounts of the Spanish Armada, the trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots, the ravages of the plague in London and other important events of that time.

It is announced at Harvard University that Professor Etienne Gilson, the distinguished medievalist of the Sorbonne Faculty at Paris, will be exchange professor at Harvard during the first half-year, 1926-27.

The Island of San Salvador, the landing place of Christopher Columbus when he discovered this continent in 1492, will probably become the haven of countless pilgrimages, if the plan of the Knights of Columbus of the State of New York can be carried out to its proper consummation, according to an announcement made recently by Daniel J. Tobin, State deputy. Within the last month the final payment has been made for the land which has been established to be the exact landing place of Columbus. This payment completed the deal that cost the Knights of New York State $25,000.

State Deputy Tobin stated that the land itself did not cost $25,000, the greater part of the fund raised having been set aside for the reclamation of the old missions, maintenance of the grounds and general upkeep. He further made known that the land has been made a gift from the K. of C. to the Archdiocese of New York.

It is due to the energy and foresight of the Very Rev. Chrysostom Schreiner, O. S. B., Vicar Forane of the Island, that the purchase and conservation of the land was brought about, declared Mr. Tobin. Father Schreiner, after consultation with Cardinal Hayes, appealed for the preservation of the land as preeminently the most historic site in the Western Hemisphere.

The island is known now as Watling Island, and a bill has already been introduced in the House of Commons in London, to change the name of the island to San Salvador, the original name given it by Columbus himself. Mr. Tobin has been assured that this act will pass the House of Commons, and said that he looked for the change in name before the end of the year.

Mr. Tobin also announced that the future San Salvador will be distinctly Catholic in atmosphere and surroundings. It has been planned, he said, that together with the old missions already standing and to be rebuilt, new and larger edifices will be erected under the supervision of Father Schreiner.

Miss Eleanor G. Colgan, of Brooklyn, N. Y., a Papal Countess, has given $10,000 to pay for the great dome ceiling—a ceramic art work in honor of God the Holy Ghost—which shelters the main altar in the crypt of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.

This latest important contribution to the Shrine pays for a work already completed in the crypt. Fashioned in ceramics in this ceiling is a large white dove, symbolic of God the Holy Ghost, set amid a colorful arrangement of other porcelains. The vast dome supports one of the largest arches in the world, being planned to carry a weight of 1,000,000 pounds. As a whole it is considered one of the finest examples of ceramic art in this country.

The altar which is temporarily beneath this gorgeous ceiling is the historic table of the Sacrifice upon which Archbishop Carroll of Maryland celebrated Mass in his mother's home during a period of intolerance in the Colonies. Since the altar has been at the Shrine, Cardinal Bonzano, former Apostolic delegate to this country and Papal Legate to the Eucharistic Congress at Chicago, Cardinal Dougherty, of Philadelphia, Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston, and Archbishop Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, Apostolic Delegate to the country, have officiated at it.

The most illustrious excavator of Rome's ancient hills, a preëminent archeologist and a personal friend of Pope Pius XI, and Cardinals of many lands passed away with the death recently of Senator Giacomo Boni, for years Director of the Excavations of the Roman Forum and the Palatine.

Senator Boni made researches which led to discoveries of the greatest interest for Christian history. Only a few days before his death he discussed still further projects of much importance.

Exceptional testimonials to the high esteem he enjoyed were given in his last illness and at the funeral services. His Holiness sent his Apostolic Blessing to him by his secretary as the scientist lay ill and the State provided for Requiem Masses for the repose of his soul. His body was taken to the Palatine and buried in a special tomb dug in the greatest palace which rises on the sacred hills, a witness to the greatest history in the world.

Senator Boni's discoveries extended even to the prehistoric epoch of Rome. His first, made early in 1899, was of the "lapis suger," or black stone, which covered the ancient monument that scientists believe may be the tomb of Romulus himself. Cut on it is one of the most ancient Latin inscriptions ever discovered.

Later on, however, his researches led to a discovery of intense interest for Christian history. It was known that between the Roman Forum and the Palatine had once existed the Basilica of Santa Maria Antigua, but no one had ever succeeded in finding the ruins. Father Grisar, S. J. identified it with the Church of Santa Maria Liberatrice which from the foot of the Palatine runs into the Forum like a spur, while Monsignor Duchesne believed it was the church now dedicated to St. Francesca Romana which rises between the Arch of Titus and the Basilica of Massencius.

Boni began to make excavations at the Church of Santa Maria Liberatrice and found traces of the old Basilica of Santa Maria Antigua and of other very important Roman monuments. Thereafter, the demolition of the Church of Santa Maria Liberatrice, a structure of the seventeenth century, was decided on. The excavations made at the place where it had risen brought to light marvellous dis-

coveries. Not only was the font of Giuturnus, one of the most important Roman monuments of the epoch of the Kings, found but also the Oratory of the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and the entire Basilica of Santa Maria Antigua quite covered from the roof to the floor with paintings very important to the history of Christian Rome.

So, thanks to the intelligent and good work of Boni, precisely on the point where the Palatine Bill joins the Roman Forum, in the midst of the greatest and most important monuments of pagan Rome was brought to light one of the most precious jewels of Christian Rome.

Giacomo Boni was a great friend of Monsignor Ratti, now Pope Pius XI, who often visited him at the Farnese Palazzino where he lived, in the heart of the Palatine. They held continued and important historical and scientific conversations.

The Holy Father has appointed four professors to take charge of the courses which will be opened in October in the new Pontifical Institute of Christian Archeology in Rome.

They are Monsignor Jean-Pierre Kirsch, professor at the University of Fribourg, who will give a course on General Christian Archeology, the Topography of Christian Rome (Catacombs and churches) and who will be in charge of the Institute for the first trimester; Monsignor Joseph Wilpert, whose subject will be Ancient Christian Iconography (paintings and sculptures); Professor Angelo Silvagni, Christian Epigraphy; and Dom. Henry Quentin, O. S. B., who will have charge of the courses on Liturgy, Hagiography, and Ecclesiastical Institutions of Antiquity.

The secretaryship of the Institute has been entrusted to Monsignor Giulio Belvederi, member of the Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archeology.

The new buildings which the Holy Father has generously provided for the Institute will not be ready until late in the fall, but the courses will open in the temporary quarters in October.

According to statistics collected by a Holland non-Catholic paper, "De Protestant," and based upon the official figures furnished by the Ministry of Justice, Catholic churches and charitable institutions received, during the year 1924, 1,248,073 gulden in legacies and officially approved donations. The combined Protestant and Jewish church and charitable associations upon the other hand are credited with the receipt of but 668,644 gulden. Yet the Catholics constitute only thirty-five per cent, of the whole population of the land, which was 7,086,913 in 1923, for an area a little over one-fourth the great State of New York.

At a dinner given recently in Rome by the Brazilian Ambassador to the Vatican, the first hundred years of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Brazil was fittingly commemorated.

In presenting the toast to the assembled guests the Ambassador recalled the important points in the history of the Church of Brazil, showing her phenomenal development from seven original dioceses to the present eighty.

The beneficent influence of Catholicism in that country had been strongly demonstrated, said the speaker, and the people of Brazil entertained the highest respect and admiration for the august person of the Holy Father, Pope Pius XI. The toast was concluded with a tribute to the Pontiff made in the name of the President of the Republic.

In the name of the Holy Father, His Eminence, Cardinal Gasparri, replied. The Cardinal paid high tribute to the fidelity of Brazil to the Church, and expressed his gratification over the fact that in general full liberty and many privileges were permitted to the clergy and Catholic people.

Cardinal Gasparri concluded by requesting the Ambassador to convey thanks to the President of Brazil in the name of the Pope.

Dr. Glenn Frank, President of the University of Wisconsin, speaking recently to a Wisconsin Alumni dinner, attended by two hundred men and women, made the statement that universities in the elective system are "taking a coward's refuge in unrelated specialization." He believes that liberal education the world over is "suffering from structural overloading and finding it difficult to carry the burdens of its own creation and the increasing complexity of curriculum." He pictured professors in the position of one man trying to stack the hay pitched to him by six and being buried under it.

"Thus the elective system was born," he declared, "essentially a strategic retreat from new knowledge they were incapable of assimilating. It has turned universities into intellectual department stores or specialty shops, or intellectual cafeterias. You know the fate of a man who goes into a cafeteria with no advance knowledge of dietetics."

The *Catholic News* in an editorial comment says: Though the report of Dr. Frank's address was considered sensational enough to be put on the front pages of the daily papers it wasn't news to Catholics. For years we have known that the elective system was lowering educational standards in American colleges. Eminent Catholic educators from the introduction of the elective plan have condemned it and have predicted exactly what its effect would be. It is comforting to know that at last they are upheld.

At Commencement on June 16 the Catholic University of America conferred degrees on three hundred and seventy-five graduates:

Bachelor in Sacred Sciences or Canon Law, 83; Licentiate in Sacred Sciences or Canon Law, 23; Doctor in Sacred Sciences or Canon Law, 7; Bachelor of Laws, 1; Bachelor of Arts, 103; Bachelor of Science (including Engineering), 21; Bachelor of Music, 2; Master of Arts, 101; other master degrees (Laws, Letters, Sciences, Music), 4; Engineer (Electrical or Mechanical), 2; Doctor of Philosophy, 26.

Fifty-seven students of the Sisters College received the A.B.; two, the Bachelor of Music; 28, the Master of Arts; one, the Master of Music, and six the Doctorate of Philosophy.

The most notable distinction conferred by the University was the awarding of the honorary degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology upon the Rev. John J. Wynne, S.J.

The degree was bestowed upon Father Wynne on the occasion of the distinguished Jesuit's fiftieth anniversary in the Society of Jesus. The Right Rev. Rector of the University in announcing the conferring of the degree paid the following eloquent and deserved tribute to the recipient:

> Fifty years ago a young ecclesiastic of New York entered the Society of Jesus, with the purpose of promoting the honor and glory of God as far as his abilities and opportunities permitted.
>
> This young man, John Joseph Wynne, is with us to-day, and all who have followed his priestly career will agree that he has realized in no small degree the holy device of the great order to which he promised loyalty and service. In these five decades he has ministered blamelessly in the sanctuary and school, in the pulpit and on the platform, in the confessional and in the sick room, in every service of counsel and comfort and direction, and in every way that could round out the fulfillment of the vow which he took in his heart that July morning in 1876.
>
> In all these years Father Wynne has been an outstanding apologist of our Catholic faith and life. His name has become a household word wherever the interests of our holy religion called for clear and honest statement or for courageous defence. This soldier of the faith has stood guard at his post a whole lifetime without flinching or complaining, rather with all the joy and hope that becomes a genuine servant of Jesus Christ.
>
> In the field of devotional theology and literary apologetics Father Wynne did yeoman service as editor for many years of the "Messenger of the Sacred Heart" and later as founder of "America." He has carried through with exemplary devotion the canonization of the Jesuit martyrs of North America and has deserved the honor of writing a living and delightful work on that glorious episode of American Catholic life.
>
> His devotion to the Holy See prompted him to publish for the English-speaking world that most useful work, "The Great Encyclicals of Leo the Thirteenth," which keeps forever at hand the timely guidance of that great master mind amid the intellectual confusion of our day. His Catholic heart, however, and his truly versatile genius needed the broad province of the "Catholic Encyclopedia" for the fullest display of his zeal and knowledge. His natural gifts of administration and guidance shone in the conduct of an enterprise that was at once new and immense, difficult and perilous, being an exhibit of all Catholic life and thought in the pitiless sunlight of world-wide publicity and in an age of secular hostility and intolerance, largely owing, it is true, to

ignorance and misapprehension of the true letter and the real spirit of the Catholic Church.

Of this great work, in sixteen large quarto volumes, it is quite unnecessary to speak, seeing that it has found its way the world over into countless homes, libraries, newspaper offices, schools, colleges and universities, in a word, wherever some Catholic light ought to shine in the vast penumbra of modern religious helplessness.

Suffice it to say that humanly speaking this enterprise might still be a hope were it not for all the courage and knowledge, all the scholarly virtues that Father Wynne brought to this task of ten years. He was truly the soul of the enterprise, the good heart and the broad mind in which his co-laborers could always meet with confidence and joy. He has lived to see nearly one hundred thousand copies of this useful work distributed wherever the English tongue is spoken. It is really a popular presentation of all Catholic theology, clear, exact, reliable and sympathetic in spirit and diction, written with one eye on the Gospel, the Church and the Pope, and another eye on the vast world of our own language and all its implications.

Such a task, successfully done, implies all the virtues of a teacher of high rank in every branch of Catholic theology, also of singular skill in statement of the truth and in answering difficulties and misapprehensions, not to speak of slander, abuse and calumny.

The Catholic University of America, therefore, feels amply justified in asking Father Wynne to take a place among its Doctors of Theology, and to honor us by his acceptance. May he be long with us to encourage us by his zeal, to instruct us by his education, and to edify us by that priestly life which his own great city has so long known and admired.

His Grace Archbishop Curley presided at the Commencement exercises and at the close before an audience numbering twenty-five hundred delivered a brilliant address.

After having shown the reason for the existence of Catholic high schools, colleges, and universities which educate their students in a religious atmosphere, His Grace branded as disloyal the utterances of those who would have secular establishments take the place of Catholic institutions:

> Such utterances are contrary to the whole attitude of the Catholic Church, [said the Archbishop]. It is disloyal for anyone to say that a short period of religious instruction for Catholic students in secular institutions of learning will take the place of the Catholic school and college, where the student is surrounded by religious influences constantly.
>
> You cannot throw young men and women into an atmosphere of atheism day in and day out and then expect them to keep strong in the faith and save their souls under the Catholic Foundation plan. Tamper with Catholic education and you tamper with the very foundations of Catholicism in the United States.

BOOK REVIEWS

New Realism in the Light of Scholasticism. By Sister Mary Verda, Ph.D., of The Sisters of the Holy Cross, St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926. Pp. 204.

The interest which the present reader is likely to find in this book being primarily historical it may be well to begin by looking at New Realism in its family relationship. Could one get an air view of the region of thought covered say by the last two generations of philosophers here is how things would look. Back in the early sixties the Darwinian hypothesis looms large. Herbert Spencer in England notwithstanding his Agnosticism is striving to find for it a philosophical foundation in sheer Nationalism, while Ernst Haeckel in Germany is grounding it on a crude Materialism. In the mean time Auguste Comte in France and John Stuart Mill are constructing a system of pure Empiricism and Positivism while synchronously and a little later Lotze and Eucken in Germany; Maine de Biran and Cousin in France; Green and Bradley in England; Royce and Howison in America with Gentili and Croce still active in Italy are working at an idealistic interpretation of man and his world. Later on Nietsche in Germany is turning the stream of thought into the swamps of brutish instinct, Bergson still later on in France is directing the current through the subterranean caves of cosmical life, while William James at Harvard wearied with the incessant wranglings of the Materialists and the Idealists—or rather when the humor was on him secretly enjoying their Punch and Judy mockeries—and despairing or heedless of any absolute verity proclaims his pragmatic view that truth is identical with practicality: truth is whatsoever works: what really pays its investments. Lastly and in outspoken protests against all these vagaries there has arisen almost yesterday another variety of speculation—perhaps the fifty-seventh—known as the New Realism. Influenced largely by Franz Brentano, Meinong and Edmund Husserl in Germany; by Bertrand Russel in England, and by a corps of university professors—amongst whom Edwin Holt and Ralph Perry are prominent for their writings in this coun-

try—New Realism stands for a movement organized to bring down philosiphy from the clouds of Absolute Idealism to lift it above the low lying planes of Pragmatism, and above all to pull it out of the sloughs of Materialism. In other words the New Realism claims to mark a return of philosophy to common sense, to the recognition that the world is really out there as the plain man thinks it to be, that it exists prior to our perceiving or thinking about it and that it keeps on existing when we close down our cognitive machinery. Now this looks encouraging and the prospect commends itself to all thinkers who start philosophizing from the data of common sense. But alack and alas! the promise is illusive. New Realism starts with fair promises which hardly uttered are covertly withdrawn. The world is real just as it seems and so it the mind but not as it seems to be. The difference between out there and in here is illusive. Things must not be viewed that way. The object world and the subject are in reality one. All is homogeneous throughout. Object and subject are really identical. They differ only in the patterns according to which the ultimate constituents of the universe are arranged. There is indeed no mind in the sense of a soul, vital principle or "entelechy." Such entitles are mere spooks that may still haunt the brain of old-fashioned people including some philosophers but which the New Realism has forever exercised. The soul, so called, is just a physiological status of nervous matter, nerve cells and fibres. Or rather it is a sort of flash light which the individual uses to illuminate the various fields of consciousness. Consciousness is not inside the thinker. It is out there where the beam is playing. For the evidence supporting these assertions the reader is referred to the book at hand. In it he will find the New Realism treated first historically in relation to the various forms of Idealism and to Pragmatism against which types of speculation the New Realism is a reaction: Secondly he will see the system finely dissected, its constituent organs and members laid bare, and its attitude towards the knowable universe, the knowing (so-called) mind and the knowing process carefully examined. The failure of New Realism to explain the nature of either truth or error is solidly proven, and the disastrous consequences, ethical and social, which its materialis-

tic view of the human mind and of the will's liberty entail are pointed out. The work reflects a thorough knowledge of the system and an intimate acquaintance with the sources and relations thereof. Due credit is given to what elements of truth and value the New Realism contains while its weaknesses and dangerous implications are indicated. As the title of the volume declares, the standpoint from which the evaluation is taken is that of Neo-Scholasticism. The latter it is claimed being truly based on the data of common sense, developed and refined by the reflective thought of a long and continuous line of the world's greatest thinkers. The book embodies the first attempt to do just this thing—to evaluate the most recent type of philosophical speculation by the standard set by the "perennial philosophy." To have accomplished so large a task so justly, so convincingly and within such a relatively brief compass reflects credit on the author and justifies the hope that the reception accorded to the book will encourage her to develop certain parts and to further enlarge the scope of the treatment in future editions.

FRANCIS P. SIEGFRIED,
Overbrook Seminary, Pa.

Étude Sur L'influence Musicale de L'abbaye de Saint-Gall. By R. Van Doren, O.S.B. Louvain: Librarie Universitaire. Pp. 159.

Gregorian Chant deserves the attention of the historian as well as that of the student of antique art. Great scholars, such as Filis, Gaevert, Dom Gothier, Fr. Lambillotte, G. Wagner, A. Gastone, Dom. Macquereau have done much for the restoration and study of the Church's liturgical chant. The above mentioned work of Dom Van Doren in the same field is interesting, because, in his historical research he goes to the sources, and after a careful critical study he tells us of a monastery, whose history has been mixed with legend, and long standing traditions, some of which have little foundation in facts.

Dom Van Doren's book, "Etude sur L'influence Musicale de L'abbaye De Saint-Gall (VIIIe an XIe Siècle)" is a dissertation presented to the University of Louvain for the doctorate in Moral

and Historical Sciences. The object of the work is to show the part played by the famous Abbey of Saint Gall in the history of medieval music. This book is divided into two parts.

The first part traces the progress made in the propagation of the Roman Chant in Rome at the time of St. Gregory, the great; in England in the seventh and eighth century; in Gaul under Pepin and Charlesmagne; and in Metz and Milan. The second part is devoted to the work done at the Abbey of Saint Gall up to the eleventh century.

In this erudite study we find attacks on several time-honored traditions with conclusions that are more or less "personal," but nevertheless, they are well founded and will serve to open the way to a better solution to doubtful affirmatives that have been too long accepted as historical facts. For example—he shows that it was only in the second half of the ninth century that we can say St. Gall possessed a musical school and he proves, that, historically the name could not apply to St. Gall before this time. As regards to the works of the famous Nobles (Balbulus) Dom Van Doren holds that they are not of such great literary or historic value as previous historians would have us believe. The "Casus Sancti Galli" of Ekkehard IV partake more of the nature of legends than true history, just as in the case of the two famous singers "Romanus and Petrus."

In the second part we find a careful, scholarly study of the history of St. Gall. We see its humble beginning,—its slow development in periods of peace and in times of great trials. We see the monastery growing in power and importance under its various Abbots up to the eleventh century. After tracing the history of the monastery Dom Van Doren gives us five conclusions.

1. The Benedictine monastery established at the tomb of St. Gall was founded by the Abbot Atmar and was at the beginning under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Constance. It was only under Louis, the Pious, that the Abbey was freed from the said jurisdiction. During all of the eighth and the first part of the ninth century the monastery held an humble place—both as to its power and intellectuality.

2. In the ninth century a school was established. Among the first masters we find Notker (Balbulus) 840(?)—912. His numerous works do not, according to this book, place him much higher than the ordinary scholar. Vainly one seeks to find the great musical competence that tradition attributes to him.

3. Too much credence has been given to the tradition, started in the eleventh century, given Notker credit for bringing forth the letter containing the explication of the "litterae significativae" found in chant manuscripts.

4. Too much historical value must not be attached to the "Casus" written by Ekkerhard IV in the eleventh century. It is there that we read of the famous Roman singers, "Romanus and Petrus."

5. By enlarging upon the legend created by Ekkehard IV and his successors a cult to Notker soon resulted. Dom Van Doren says that history does not warrant this.

These conclusions of Dom Van Doren contain a great deal of destructive criticism, but all is well established by sound historical proof. All this will only serve to bring out the real facts of the case. It will serve to make clear just how much history there is in the old traditions and legends which are often without historical foundations.

W. J. DESLONGCHAMPS.

La Mitologia Asturiana: Los Dioses de la Muerte. By C. Cabal. Madrid: Imprenta de Juan Pueto. Pp. 268.

The historical Asturias, where Pelayo with a handful of men began the reconquest of Spain from the Moors, is the field where C. Cabal has been gathering up legends and traditions and weaving them into an interesting and valuable work for reference and research on the Folk-lore in that section of Spain.

In a previous work "Del Folk-lore de Asturias" he had already treated this subject of regional mythology, but in this last under the title *Los Dioses De La Muerte* we find a well prepared collection of myths, legends and superstitions dealing exclusively with Death.

The author tells us, in the dedication, that he is making a pilgrimage to the sanctuaries of the mysterious Asturias, drinking from the waters of its fountains, seeking the reasons for its uses, its superstititions and its character.

Asturias, the author says, is full of mythological lore. There is a history in each one of its peaks and a ruin in each one of its valleys. Remains from the paganism of other days; mementos of past conceptions, superstitions perhaps, but so closely related to the psychology of this people that it would be almost impossible to separate them.

Beginning with the pre-Roman Asturias, he tries to show that the setting chosen by Homer for his *Odyssey* was no other but this region of Asturias.

Quotations from Virgil, Plato, Cicero . . . are brought forth showing the similarity of their ideas and those which gave origin to the beliefs, legends and superstitions transmitted through generations and generations in this mountainous region.

Stories, in a plain narrative way, are given mentioning the names, ages and addresses of the people connected with them.

This is a book, in short, worth while. It is especially valuable for those interested in the study of mythology and Folk-lore.

ANGEL CABRILLO Y VAZQUEZ.

The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal with France, England, and Holland from 1640 to 1668. By Edgar Prestage, Camoes Professor at London University. Watford (England): Voss and Michael, Ltd., 1925. Pp. xiv + 237.

In 1580 Portugal and Spain were united. Spain was not inconsiderate of the rights of the smaller state, but Portugal was dissatisfied and, taking advantage of Spain's misfortunes, rebelled in 1640. Spain was not disposed to accept the result of the revolution and fought for over a score of years to maintain the political integrity of the Iberian Peninsula. The Portuguese, realizing that they could not maintain their independence without foreign aid, sought help from Spain's enemies, France, England, and the Dutch. Numerous embassies were sent from

Lisbon to the governments of these nations for the purpose of encompassing the failure of Spain in her European projects in the hope that she would, in consequence, be obliged to recognize Portuguese independence. These embassies the author reviews, one after another, in great detail. Many of these reveiws could, as the author states, be expanded into monographs. Such as they are, in what sometimes approaches crude form, they are invaluable to the student of the period, because they are based on sources not generally accessible. The author frankly acknowledges the possibility of correcting some of his statements because he has not been able to explore all the manuscript material at the Ajuda and at Evora. Mr. Prestage's work is without question a valuable addition to the literature of diplomacy in the years when European peoples were in the throes of expansion.

The Essential American Tradition: an Anthology of Striking and Significant Passages from our National Documents, State Papers, and the Writings and Speeches of American Statesmen and Leaders from 1619 to 1914. By Jesse Lee Bennett. New York: Doran and Co. (copyr. 1924). Pp. 348.

The author has brought together, and prefaced by a lengthy introduction, selections from the writings of a host of well known personages in illustration of the essential American tradition. The Anthology is not a "source book" intended to enliven the facts of history as they are recorded in a text book. The Anthology illustrates our political and social traditions, thought, aspirations. We have long had need of such a selection and, since one limited in scope has been made, would that some scholar, or group of scholars produce a more comprehensive compilation. We can think of but few passages that could have been added to an anthology of its dimensions. The selections given are grouped under the following heads: The Individual, Natural Law, The Social Compact, Liberalisms, The Background of the Revolution and Some of its Ideals, Some Contemporary Opinions of the Constitution, Distrust of Government, Human Rights *vs.* Property Rights, "A Beacon to Mankind," and "Patriotism." Unfortunately the Anthology has not been indexed.

There should be some means of finding the passages under the names of the authors of the selections, their titles, and their subjects.

What the author thinks are the essential American traditions are set forth in the Introduction. Protection against tyranny, opportunity to develop, and other fundamental ideals of the period in which our government began are clearly set forth. The author happily does not see in our tendency to emphasize society rather than the individual any contradiction to the essential individualistic tradition. Men still have natural individualistic rights, even against society. Little fault can be found with the hstorical element in the Introduction while the author is on American ground. That the author should be guilty of wild statements about our European, especially mediaeval, background is cause not so much for criticism as for reflection on what is going to be the result of our mania to study only the present, or at most, only the last four or five hundred years of European history. However much men pride themselves on living in the future and on building for the future, they invariably build upon the foundations of the past. How to get men to realize the need of taking careful account of their past is by no means the least important problem of our day. We are sorry to see such references as "the retrograde centuries of Mediaevalism" (p. 21), and the "human spirit had been dulled and confined in the Old World" (p. 23). The significance of feudalism is not appreciated. It is likened to "a steel net holding down, crushing, oppressing the bodies and spirits of men" (p. 24). What the author has in mind, no doubt, is the flamboyant feudalism of the later Middle Ages and early Modern Times. To judge feudalism so is not unlike judging apples in their prime from specimens that have become ancient. Feudalism developed in response to the need of preserving society. With little difficulty, too, the author might have seen in feudalism the roots of some of our cherished American traditions. Feudalism was individualistic, but not unreasonably so—it realized the necessity of social co-operation. We can cite the author against himself. Speaking of the contempt which some people nowadays have for the discarded compact theories of social and political origins which were in the air when we started our career as a nation,

Mr. Bennett says: "The American attempt, whatever its formulas, was necessary. It was a phase of social development by which all future societies will profit no matter what their nature, no matter how contemptuous they may effect to be of the American experiment" (p. 54). Very unhistorical, too, is the statement, "In theory all temporal princes in Christendom held power from the Pope" in the Middle Ages (p. 35).

Forty Years on the Frontier as seen in the Journals and Reminiscences of Granville Stuart, Gold Miner, Trader, Merchant, Rancher, and Politician. Edited by Paul C. Phillips, Professor of History, State University of Montana. *(Early Western Journals,* No. 2). Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1925. Illustrated. Two volumes. Pp. 272, 265.

In 1837, the year of the panic, when the young West of Andrew Jackson was smashing the traditions of the Jefferson West which in the course of its quarter century of power had become as Eastern as the Federalists, the Stuarts, father, mother, and two sons, left their home in Clarksburg, then in Virginia, to try their fortunes in the frontier state of Illinois. In Illinois, however, the urge to move westward had begun. After but one year in Illinois the Stuart family crossed the river into Iowa. The elder Stuart followed the gold seekers to California in 1849, and two years later took his two boys, James and Granville, the author of this Journal, to the land of promise. The journey was full of adventure and heartrending scenes. Cholera raged among the emigrants. "Abandoned wagons were numerous, and their former owners were in graves nearby" (I, 43). In California the two brothers fell in with two boys of their own age and started for the gold "diggins." Two intensely interesting chapters tell of their adventures as miners, and as Indian fighters in California. Among the nuggets of information gleaned from these chapters are the facts that considerable numbers of Chinamen mined on claims worked out or abandoned by white men, and that nearly all the flour used in California in the winter of 1852-1953 came from Chile. In the spring of 1856 the brothers decided to visit their parents (their father had gone

home some time before), but were detained en route by the Mormon war. Hearing that a half-breed had discovered gold in what is now Montana, the brothers changed their plans. Much of this part of the narrative is in diary form, and, therefore, very direct. Some of the whiskey on the frontier was "one part alcohol and ten parts water, with a considerable quantity of tobacco and cayenne pepper to strengthen it" (I, 169). The brothers did not drink, but they loved to read. On one occasion they rode one hundred and fifty miles, one way, to buy some books. One of the brothers married an Indian woman, "a fairly good cook, of an amiable disposition, and with few relatives" (I, 206). Not long after the nuptuals, about which there seems to have been little ado, a family named Burchett came into the settlement. In the family were "two very handsome daughters . . . and two little tow-headed boys. It looks like home to see little blonde children playing about and to see white women. . . . Every man in camp has shaved and changed his shirt since this family arrived" (I, 213). The progress of the pioneers in the habits of civilization was accelerated by the arrival in camp of a violin player with his seventeen-year-old wife. "All the men are shaving nowadays and most of them indulge in an occasional haircut" (I, 215). Dances followed, but they were not the disorderly affairs of our wild west story books and "movies." The brothers were religious, although it was easier for them to find their cards than their "testament" on Sundays. One observed "Am glad I do not have to attend church and sit on a bench two hours listening to some fellow telling us how much hotter it would be somewhere else, and that we were headed for that particular spot. We may miss some of the good things of life by being out here, but we escape some mighty disagreeable experiences" I, 251-252).

The second volume does not contain so many diary entries. Interest, however, nowhere flags. Five of the nine chapters in this volume deal with cattle raising, and two with the life and customs of the Indians and with their wars with the white men. Details grip our attention when they do not amuse us. When we recall the devices that were tried in railroading in the East, we are not surprised that an enterprising Westerner should think of using dromedaries in pack trains. Dromedaries, he

argued, would travel fast, carry great loads, and frighten away the Indians. The horses of Montana, however, also took fright and the dromedaries were taken back to Utah (II, 21-23). In 1865 Virginia City, Montana, witnessed a 185-round prize fight (II, 24-25). Now and then we get contacts with the Catholic missions of the Northwest.

The two volumes, well edited, well illustrated, well indexed, beautifully produced, as Messrs. Arthur H. Clark and Company always produce their books, are an addition de luxe to any carefully selected library. But one error of importance was noted,—1856 on page 114 of the first volume should be 1857.

Saint François D'Assise. By Pedro Subercaseaux. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1925.

This illustrated life of the Saint of Assisi is one of the many contributions to Franciscan literature which we may expect to mark the seventh centenary of the saint's death. One of the makers of history passed away on that evening of October third, 1226, when the spirit of St. Francis departed, "before he reached the end of the Psalm *Ad Dominum clamavi,* and a multitude of larks surrounded the cell singing joyously." The father of the Renaissance he has been called, and not without reason. A precursor of Dante he surely was. No one can dispute the place in Church history of the man who in a few short years could count on five thousand disciples, "speaking the tongues of all the nations." Troubadours they were, like himself, who had wooed and won the Lady Poverty. But, as Francis Thompson reminds us, Francis of Assisi, "sworn to Poverty, foreswore not Beauty, but discerned through the lamp Beauty the Light God."

History speaks her message in a varied language. Art is not the least eloquent of her mediums. Pedro Subercaseaux, a Chilean Benedictine of European education, has used his talent to depict for us the story of the Poor Man of Assisi. These fifty pictures give a record of the saint's life from his birth in the little Umbrain stable to Sister Clare's touching farewell from her cloistral window. They embrace a span of about forty-five

years into which was crowded probably more real romance than has enriched any other single life in history. The charm, the beauty, the poetry, the pathos of it all is graphically told in line and color in the artistry before us. The enlightening preface by Johannes Joergensen enhances the value of the volume which is a credit to the printer's art. The publishers have placed us heavily in their debt by giving such a work to the public. The simple dignity of the paragraphs which serve as captions for the illustrations is classic. Every medieaval student will revel in the pages of this handsome book whose intrinsic and extrinsic worth is such that we hesitate not to say no library of any pretensions can afford to be without it.

J. F. L.

Select Documents relating to the Unification of South Africa. Edited with an Introduction by Arthur Percival Newton, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924. Two volumes. Pp. xxviii + 281; viii + 291.

The English entered South Africa in 1806 in consequence of the Napoleonic Wars. The Dutch settlers, the Boers, did not welcome their coming and after considerable friction withdrew into the interior, whither the British presently followed them. Conflicts again took place, ending only in 1902, with the conquest of the Boers. Not until 1902, therefore, could the British think of organizing their possessions on the southern tip of the Dark Continent. Some sort of union seemed advisable, and delegates discussed its possibility in 1908. As with us, there was a big state *vs.* a small state controversy. Natal played the rôle of our own Maryland. States rights and the location of the capital also proved troublesome matters. Then there was a native question. The delegates, however, argued and compromised their way to a plan of union which, on being ratified by four of the colonies, was formulated as an Imperial Statute and made effective in 1910.

Professor Newton's collection of documents begins with the first suggestion of South African Confederation, the corres-

pondence between Sir George Grey, the Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa with the colonial office in England, in 1858 and 1859. Not until 1871, however, did any public body take action looking toward union. From 1871 until 1908 the question was under discussion. Into the discussion entered a multitude of other questions. Little by little public opinion moved to the consummation of the union. This trend can be traced in all its complexity through the pages of the two volumes. Matter that is scattered, and some of it not readily accessible to many students of political evolution, is here conveniently presented.

But for some awkward writing in his introduction we have no word to say in criticism of Professor Newton's work. The work of the historian, he says, "is concerned not with the mere sequence of events but with a theme, some definite tracing of cause and effect. It relates to ideas rather than to mere facts . . . only those facts concern him that shape themselves around his idea or chain of ideas. His purpose may be infinitely various—to elucidate the growth of a community or an institution, to glorify a nation or a Church, to justify or castigate the doings of a party, or to investigate the influence of some great concept of human relations—whatever it may be, the historian will see in it some evolutionary process and his idea will dominate the arrangement of his facts. He approaches the heterogeneous mass of information that is available for his chosen period with the definite aim of sifting out relevant facts, and he therefore must engage simultaneously in three closely related actions—the search for promising material, the selection from it of the facts required, and, most difficult of all, the correlation of these facts and their linking together as parts of a single process. The essential faculty for all these actions is imagination, or to use a word less capable of misunderstanding,—insight, and the disciplining and encouragement of this faculty are perhaps the most important parts of the training of a historical student (I, Pp. xv, xvi). We have quoted at length in order to show that after all Professor Newton does not mean to give us the impression which we first get from some of his sentences. Altogether

the *University of London Historical Series*, of which these two volumes constitute the third number, is enriched by their inclusion.

The Negro from Africa to America. By W. D. Weatherford. New York: Doran and Co. Pp. 486.

This book, as its title indicates, is a popular account of the Negro's progress from his native habitat to ours. The first half of the volume is historical; the second half is descriptive of the status of the race at the present time.

The three chapters on the background of the Negro are nearly negligible; though, as Dr. Weatherford correctly states, a knowledge of the Negro mind is necessary if one would help him rise, and this knowledge can only be got through a study of his original environment. The author makes a survey of the Negro races of Africa, but this survey is based on works that now are truly ancient, and almost entirely neglects the wealth of monographic literature that has revolutionized our knowledge of the backward peoples of the world. The French and German literature in this field has been utterly ignored—the reviewer has not been able to see "shining through" Dr. Weatherford's text, as so many works "shine through" his text, any evidence of these works except in so far as the English and American writers whom he cites have made use of them. When we see some of his references, we are almost tempted to exclaim with impatience, When will our scholars learn that as much progress has been made in the study of Anthropology and Sociology in the last forty or fifty years as has been made in the Natural Sciences! What writer that has to do with physics or chemistry would think of citing the "natural philosophies" and chemistries of the seventies and eighties? Some phases of his treatment of the background are only partially developed. Africa, for example, is "dark" very largely for reasons that a school boy could "dig" out of his geography. The effects of the Mohammedan occupation of Northern Africa in the seventh century are entirely overlooked. Indeed, Mohammedanism as a factor of the wars of great portions of Africa has not even been mentioned. Considerable parts of chapters are drawn from two or three secondary

works. Sumner's *Folkways* has proved especially useful. For the Portuguese activities he is in debt to Martin's *Golden Age of Prince Henry the Navigator*. The superior works of Beazley, of Major, and of others appear not to have been used. Fiske is cited. The antislavery productions of Benezet are quoted without thought apparently of their antiquity or of their partisan character. In the historical chapters we even descend to text books, like our late President Wilson's *Division and Reunion* (Pp. 131 and *passim*). Occasionally the author naps. On page 75 he quotes Martin to the effect that the Portuguese were not hypocritical when they said that they enslaved the Negroes in order to give them a chance to be saved. This was "the genuine spirit of the age." On the following page Dr. Weatherford states, out of quotation marks, that "all the first slaves were carried by way of Europe where they might be 'Christianized' before being sent out to the (Spanish) colonies. Thus did the early slavers salve their conscience." Still the Spaniards fare well at Dr. Weatherford's hands. "The Spanish, contrary to their general reputation, were perhaps better to their slaves (sic) than any of the other nations working in the West Indies" (p. 103), and "If the Spaniards were the most humane masters the Dutch were the most cruel" (p. 103). A comparison of these two statements, occurring on the same page, also, shows that the value of words has not always been duly appreciated. Fairness again characterizes the author's estimate of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. That book "was based on exceptional cases, cases which all knew might be true, but which were by on means typical" (p. 135). The ninth chapter, on the economic failure of our Southern slave system, does not take some important items into consideration. That the tobacco regime was not always profitable we grant. The thesis can, however, hardly be proved as Dr. Weatherford has. He cites in proof of the affirmative the profitable operation of a Virginia tobacco plantation by Mr. Samuel Hairston in the decade or two before the Civil War, quoting a full page from Chambers, *Slavery and Colour* (Pp. 194-195) who (Chambers) got the quotation "from a Richmond paper in 1854" (p. 206). That tobacco was "not always a lucrative crop" is proved by a quotation from a letter of "a Mr. Calvert to Lord Baltimore, dated October 26, 1729." Apart from the

matter of difference of time, Dr. Weatherford has not taken into account the fact that newspaper statements must be taken *cum grato salis;* that Maryland was never prime tobacco country, particularly not in 1729 after a century of *Raubkultar;* that the planter element of both colonial Virginia and Maryland was for mercantilistic reasons not in the best mood and that it would, therefore, not write sanguine letters to the home folks in England. Soil exhaustion in the cotton culture was not altogether due to cultivation by slaves. It was unquestionably due, to mention only two reasons, to the ease with which new land could be got and to the careless management of overseers. The tobacco and cotton planters could not afford to be away from their plantations any length of time. Washington's correspondence (which is nowhere cited, though readily available) proves this point conclusively. The fact that the South staked all in cotton, that it was willing to disrupt the Union and to go its own way with cotton as king, does not seem to indicate that cotton planting was not profitable so long as new and fertile land close to cheap transportation facilities was to be had. In the long run, of course, the slave regime was unprofitable. Many of the author's contentions will stand. We quarrel with some of his proofs.

When Dr. Weatherford writes, as he does in the second half of the book, from his own, first hand knowledge, supplemented by census reports, the Chicago Race Commission reports, etc., we feast upon matter that is worth while. Our race is under indictment for carelessness with respect to its obligations towards its fellow race. Fortunately for us Dr. Weatherford has little or nothing to say about Reconstruction times. These chapters are marred, too, by some careless historical writing—he dips back into the colonial period and *ante bellum* periods every now and then. From this chapter on the religious life of the Negro, Catholics may learn one or two valuable lessons: (1) their woeful neglect of the negro missions; (2) the honesty of criticism that is possible when one does not belong to what may be called a "mutual admiration society." If the author notices Catholic endeavors in the Negro mission field only once or twice, it is not because he is the President of the Southern College of the Young Men's Christian Association, but because in comparison with what the protestant churches, particularly the Methodist and the

Baptist, are doing, Catholic endeavors nearly deserve to escape notice. The men and women who are spending their time in the South as well as in the North in bringing Catholicism to the Negro deserve better support from their co-religionists in the face of the fact which the author brings out.

The book is concluded by a chapter on the sources of information. The bibliography is popularly presented with estimates of the value of the items. The dates of publication would interest readers, but they are not given. The character of the citations may be estimated from what has already been said in this review. The list lacks nothing in respect to incompleteness. Some blunders occur. Hart, our own Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, is "Harte" (p. 144, note 7 and elsewhere). Tylor, the English anthropologist, has his name spelled correctly in note 8, p. 13, and incorrectly in the bibliography (p. 459). The index certainly is an inadequate guide to the rich and varied material that is in this volume.

F. J. TSCHAN.

The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New. By Roger Bigelow Merriman. Vol. III, *The Emperor.* New York: The MacMillan Company, 1925. Pp. xxiv + 695.

Professor Merriman published the first two volumes of his work on Spain seven years ago. While he regrets the lapse of so long a period between the first two volumes and this, he feels that there are compensations for it of which the greatest has been utilization of several books that have made the study of the period covered by this volume both easier and more fruitful. Of these books some are secondary in character, some are primary in character. In the last few years Spaniards have been busy about their history, and not a few of their productions are works of the first magnitude. The publication of sources has also not been neglected by this new generation of Spanish historical scholars. Professor Merriman has furthermore been fortunate in finding valuable manuscripts. Many of these are noted in the appendices—he continues the practice of appending bibliographical notes to his chapters. Though his searches in the Spanish

archives have yielded far more material than he could possibly use in the present volume, he cannot refrain from repeating the conviction which he expressed in the preface to the first volume of this work, "that the amount of practically unutilized printed material for Spanish history still remains so vast, that it is quite as important that it should be thoroughly explored as that extensive searches should be made for something new." (p. viii).

The present volume covers the years of the reign of the Emperor Charles V, 1516-1555. The matter falls naturally into two parts: the story of Spain in Europe and the story of Spain in the New World. In both parts we find much new material and many new interpretations. Charles V committed Spain to an imperial career and to the championship of Catholicism in a world that threatened to become protestant. The former rôle she accepted with reluctance. Naturally her tendencies were nationalistic; she could not fail to realize also that she paid dearly with Spanish blood and with American treasure for all the glories of imperialism. For crusades, however, such as were the wars against the Protestant princes and against the Turks, the Spaniards always were ready. Spanish soldiers fought the Turk in the Danube Valley in 1532. The reason for this readiness,—the Castilian psychology—Professor Merriman seems not to make quite clear, but he does make the connecting point that Spain was Castilianized by American treasure. Charles was master of Castile before he won the other regions of the country. Dutch as he had been, Charles through the force of circumstances became Spanish, so Spanish, indeed, that when wearied of the cares of the Empire, he retired to Spain to die. Many more phases of this complicated period should be noted, but we prefer to devote the space at our disposal to the cultural notices with which the author has enriched his chapter on the internal development of Spain. Though the economic side of the reign has been treated in only twenty pages (Pp. 188-207) there are valuable passages showing that the Spaniard of Charles' day possessed some very modern qualities. As early as 1528 the Cortes requested that Spanish ships be better armed "since it has often been observed that though there are more men in the ships of Spain than in those of her foes . . . the Spaniards have to surrender because the others have more artillery and ammunition

. . . . the which does not happen to the ships of Portugal or of other nations" (p. 172). The members of the Cortes, of course, were not prophets: it did happen to the Dutch. The Cortes was interested also in higher education. The administrators of our universities will find an argument for temporary appointments to professorial chairs in one of its petitions. Permanent appointments tend to make the occupants of chairs lazy whereas temporary appointments "would cause them to work for the increase of their salaries and larger classes" (p. 175). The medical profession also was under fire. Many inadequately trained physicians "were practising medicine and apothecaries committed the responsibility of filling prescriptions to incompetent persons. No one should be allowed to practise without a thorough examination and the degree of bachelor of arts which degree was to be granted only after four years study of medicine" (Pp. 176-177). Charles himself appears as a true lover of art, whether pagan or Christian. When the Cathedral Chapter of Cordova secured permission from him in 1523 to build a church in the plateresque style in the center of the great mosque of the Abd ar-Rahmans and he came three years later to see what the canons had accomplished, he was "visibly taken aback, and exclaimed: 'You have built what you or others might have built anywhere; but you have destroyed something that was unique in the world'" (p. 218).

The chapters devoted to the Spaniards in America show how far we have traveled in this field from the position of the "literary" historians of our Middle Era. Professor Merriman very frankly places the blame for the condemnation of the Spanish people and their efforts in America on the shoulders that should bear it. The history of Spain in America has for four centuries been very largely a "legend" taken eagerly from the pages of Las Casas. The cruelty of the Spaniards and the amount of wealth taken by them from the natives have been exaggerated. Even Cortez was only on a few occasions purposely cruel and bloodthirsty (p. 460). Is there, however evidence that Casas was in Peru? (p. 660). The chapter on the administration of the Indies is an admirable summary of our present knowledge of Spanish American institutions and progress.

F. J. TSCHAN.

An Introduction to the Study of the American Constitution, A Study of the Formation and Development of the American Constitutional System and of the Ideals upon which it is based with Illustrative Materials. By Charles E. Martin, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science and Dean of the Faculty of Social Science. University of Washington, Seattle. New York: Oxford University Press. (American Branch) 1926. Pp. xliii + 440.

"The purpose of this book is to furnish the student and the general reader with an introductory study of the American Constitution" (p. vii). This purpose the author accomplishes by considering the constitution, historically and topically. Historically the book is far from being satisfactory. What are "charter corporations" (p. 3)? The patroon system of New York is, without a word of warning, injected into a chapter on the "legal and political ideas of the British system finding a place in the colonial system" (p. 4). In the chapter on the constitutional system of three representative colonies the influence of geography is noticed with respect to Virginia, but not with respect to the other colonies, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. The paragraph concerning the influence of religion on the constitutional system of Massachusetts deals only with Plymouth (p. 9). Shay's rebellion was not the only case of disorder occasioned by the evils accompanying the issue of paper money (p. 26). The development of the Union by way of attempts at union in colonial times and the causes of the final unification of colonies do not receive mention. The Northwest Ordinance deserves more extensive treatment (Pp. 132-133). More attention could well have been paid to the sources of the ideas in the Constitution. In the national period some movements and happenings should have been more thoroughly presented even though to-day seem to be no traces of them in the Constitution. Nullification in New England in 1814-1815 and in South Carolina in 1832-1833 is divorced from the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. The making of all the members of the Cabinet responsible to the President does not appear as one of the important results of Jackson's war on the Bank. The constitutional significance of the Internal Improvements issue is not discussed. The theories

of Reconstruction days are passed by without ado. Nothing is said about how the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were adopted.

One cannot escape the conclusion that the author's conception of our constitution belongs to another day than ours. Apparently to him it is a document and not, as it is to Lowell, a scheme of government. We started, indeed, with a written constitution, the document which Professor Martin very properly places at the beginning of his book rather than at the end. To-day our constitution is much more than this document. Congress and the States have passed laws which no one will deny are fundamental, notwithstanding the fact that they were not produced as "Hoyle" says that constitutions should be produced. The apparently document-bounded view of our author leads him to emphasize matters that explain the constitution at the expense of an adequate consideration of the constitutionally unprovided for situations which have arisen. Those situations have called for adaptions, often a series of adaptions of our original charter to present day conditions. The Adamson Act, the Lever Act, the Clayton Act, the Pure Food and Drug Act, the Federal Reserve Bank Act, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Tariff Commission, the Inter-state Commerce Commission, the Northern Securities Case, Direct Primaries, and other acts and institutions of recent decades, all of them of vital importance to us, receive little or no attention and are not even indexed. The whole subject of federal centralization, so lucidly treated by Professor Thompson, of the University of Wisconsin, does not appear to be of great moment.

We leave much unsaid. The book is not stimulating. Its chapters are often short—only a page or two. They are divided into topics disposed of at times by a sentence or two. The sentences for the most part are simple in structure and regular in word order. Notwithstanding their simplicity of structure, clearness of thought is not always secured. Witness:

> "*Evolution of revolutionary instruments within a state.* New York may be taken as an example. The last colonial assembly was held in 1769. This was a legal body. It held sessions from time to time until April, 1775. In January, 1775, a vote was taken on the activities of the Continental Congress. The same group pass-

> ed from a legal body through a revolutionary body, to a new legal body. The committee of fifty-one was contemporary and parallel with the provincial assembly. The first provincial congress was held in 1775 as a successor to the provincial assembly; the second in the same year; the third in 1776; and the fourth in the same year, which drafted the Constitution of 1777 and put it into effect without popular ratification. Of this fourth Congress, 23 members had been in all the previous congresses, and only six of the entire 107 members were without experience in a revolutionary body. The Constitution of 1777 was drafted by one-third of this extra-legal body. In January, 1778, the government set up by this Congress became the government of the state." (Pp. 21-22).

Long quotations frequently apear in the text and they are often unaccompanied by references. The point in the quotation on pages 213-215 is trivial and is discredited. The matter should have been relegated to the appendix, if it seemed necessary to print it at all. An excellent feature of the book is the emphasis it places on the study of cases. Unfortunately the condensations are in too nearly tabloid form for students to appreciate the importance of the points made. The appendix is useful. It contains documents of value, brief biographical notes on the members of the Philadelphia Convention, a list of persons nominated as Chief Justice and as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1789 to 1925, Acts of Congress declared unconstitutional by the Federal Supreme Court, and other items of importance. The bibliographies appended to the chapters leave much to be desired. Many of the references are ancient; for example, Lodge's *English Colonies in America.* Several works of great importance do not appear; for example, Thompson's *Federal Centralization,* and Luce's *Legislative Procedure* and *Legislative Assemblies.*

A History of the Economic Progress of the United States. By Walter W. Jennings. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. Pp. xvi + 819.

The number of text books on the economic history of our country is increasing year by year. A decade ago the question of selection was nearly negligible. Steadily, too, the contents of

these books have improved both qualitatively and quantitively. Still the writers of these manuals seem not to think that the political and cultural development of our nation concerns the chronicler of its economic evolution. As the old school historian long ignored the men with economic interests, so these now err in ignoring political and cultural history. This state of affairs is unfortunate. The technical departments and colleges of the country as a rule call for a semester, sometimes for two semesters of American economic history. More time they cannot spare. Often their students have but a secondary school knowledge of American history and its problems. These students are plunged into economic history texts that effectively stifle historical imagination or insight, and kill any latent interest which they may have in cultural subjects. The boys and girls are confirmed in their belief that what is in reality a nimble-finger-empty-head type of education is the only form of training that is worth their time. The next step in the downward movement of our people is proposed by the shallow-plated individual who laments the fact that every year a greater number of our people is seeking more higher education and fears that in the future we shall suffer from a dearth of carpenters, brick-layers, and ditch-diggers. We are not pessimistic. Progress will eliminate the advocates of such pride-begotten, undemocratic, un-catholic disposition, on whom the blessings of charity, civilization, and divine faith have apparently been wasted.

Professor Jennings appreciates the need of which we spoke. Although the emphasis in his book is always placed on the "factors which deal with man in his effort to obtain a living, the political and social factors have not been entirely omitted, for, to reëmphasize, economic history is complex and its conditions are never isolated." If these political and social factors have not been entirely omitted from his book, they certainly have been smothered. The book is a readable encyclopedia of economic facts, a most useful reference work. The author has searched the more readily accessible sources diligently for data and admirably arranged his findings. One can read his way on such subjects as population and labor, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, finance, successively through the four periods into which the author has divided our history: The colonial (1492-

1775), the winning of political and commercial independence (1776-1815), expansion (1816-1860), war and recovery (1861-1900), and the twentieth century. In the national period new topics necessarily appear—the tariff, internal improvements, business combination, and conservation. No fault may be found with the emphasis the periods receive. The colonial and revolutionary periods occupy approximately a hundred pages each, the two periods of the nineteenth century about 160 pages each, and the present century two hundred.

Little fault, too, may be found with the treatment of the topics. At times new points are made. At times unfortunately the author assumes the rôles of adviser and prophet. Everywhere the book shows that its author has worked long, worked hard, worked most conscientiously. The misprints that mar the text and enter even its table of contents do not destroy the value of the work. Every material statement and reference which we have tested was accurate. We are saddened, however, by the thought that some one else will get the royalties which Professor Jennings richly deserves, for we cannot escape the conclusion that his book is hopelessly unteachable.

Vie de Saint François de Sales. Par M. Hamon. Nouvelle edition entièrement revisée par M. Gonthier, chanoine d' Annecy et M. Letourneau, curé de Saint-Sulpice. Paris: Lecoffre. 2 Vols.

St. François de Sales et Notre Coeur de Chair. Henri Bordeaux de l'Académie Française. Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. Pp. 332.

The new 1922 edition of Hamon's life of St. Francis de Sales is a reprint of the edition revised by Canon Gonthier in 1909. It is, therefore, illustrated and contains a map of the ancient diocese of Geneva. Being based on Abbé Hamon's work, it has all the good features of that publication which, for a long time has been the standard life of the gentle Saint, and, in addition, has the added precision and amplification resulting from a lifetime of study by the learned Canon Gonthier of Annecy. A

much needed English edition has just been announced by Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., which is being done by the Rev. Harold Burton.

St. Francis de Sales has become legendary in his native Savoy, as St. Charles Barromeo has in Milan and St. Vincent de Paul in Paris. Man of his times though he was, courtier and prince, he had, nevertheless a divine spark which refuses to die. Three hundred years after his death there are being written about him as many books as appeared in his own century. The heresy of the Chablais is broken, and St. Bartholomew's Massacre is but a peg to hang prejudices on, but the spirit of Francis de Sales is still a model for the friends of God.

Strangely enough, though loved and admired and imitated, and having a genius for friendship, St. Francis has not been fortunate in his biographers. Volumes have been written, archives have been ransacked, and prodigious labor has been expended to authenticate the biographical data of his life. Yet no one has done for the Bishop of Geneva what has been done for the saint of Assissi. But their lives are not dissimilar,—both reformed the clergy in humility and piety, both preached against the heresy of the times, both founded religious orders, and both were gentle and lovable, burning with love for God. The Porecello's doctrine, being true Christianity, was no more extreme nor spectacular than the Savoyard's teaching which is also faithfully Christian, but perhaps the former has had the emphasis on the unusual exploited with more direct human response. Human nature yearns for the spectacular and the ideal, even though too weak to imitate it. The evenness of temper of St. Francis de Sales, though purchased at great personal cost, is too obvious a virtue to have dramatic appeal. Or, are great biographers lacking because his memory is too fresh? After all, he has been dead but three hundred years and St. Francis of Assissi has been a memory since the thirteenth century. To the future, then, we may look to make St. Francis de Sales live in literature as he lives in our hearts.

M. Henry Bordeaux has attempted to supply the very need in literature that is so obvious. He, too, is a native of Savoy.

With a mature and graceful pen he gives this little volume as tribute to his spiritual ideal. His tribute is charmingly done. Brilliant paragraph descriptive of the Savoy country vary his pages; dramatic episodes color the narrative of the course of the Saint's life. But even though he realizes acutely the faulty tendency of the pious hagiographers to make the saint seem too good to live, M. Bordeaux himself reiterates the stereotyped idea of the pious St. Francis somehow above human temptation. Yet no man, not even the Son of God, has escaped that. It is the victory over temptation, sustained by grace, that has made every saint in the calendar. Not emphasis on the temptation, but emphasis on the continual victories over temptation, each one progressing over the previous one in weight, until the grand climax of final perseverance is attained, must make the literary appeal of St. Francis to our era.

St. Francis de Sales was a man of many parts. The remarkable thing about him is that every characteristic he manifested is still a source of dependence for us to-day. He was, like St. Ignatius and St. Peter Canisius, missionary to heretics, which is a need of ours. He reformed the clergy in humility and zeal like St. Charles Borromeo, St. Vincent de Paul and Jacques d'-Ollier. He was director of souls like the Curé d'Ars. He was master of the spiritual life and founder of a religious order whose force is multiplying under our very eyes through his spiritual daughter, St. Margaret Mary. Like St. Alphonsus he is theologian and client of Mary Immaculate. With Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislas, the virgin knights, his chastity is untarnished. Above all he was the dutiful successor of the apostles as bishop and pastor of his flock. But perhaps his greatest claim to present recognition is his zeal for a strong Catholic Press which he, speaking to Pope Clement VIII in 1599, was the first to suggest.

The idea of the spread of Catholic truth by example, by word of mouth, and by the printed page, especially as antidote for poisoned wells, St. Francis conceived to be part of his duty as bishop,—not only to bless and advise, but to instruct as well. B. Bordeaux, in an admirable passage on the statue of Forchet,

takes issue with the decision of the artist to represent the saint as a writer with pen in hand.

> Il faut ignorer totalement la vie, pathétique dans son simple effort quotidien, de saint François de Sales, pour faire de lui un écrivain de cabinet, rédigeant à loisir des traités abstraits, de et addressant des lettres de direction bien compasées à de belles et grandes dames. Il n'y eût pas d'homme d'action supérieur à saint François de Sales. Evêque à trente-cinq ans, il parcourrait sans cesse son difficile diocèse, en voiture, à cheval dans les chemins muletiérs, à pied quand le cheval ne pourvait plus avancer. Il poursuivait les âmes, comme Jésus la brebis égarée dans les buissons. La plume était pour lui une influence, une occasion d'autorité à exercer, comme l'épie l'est pour les capitaines." (p. 29).

M. Bordeaux goes on to say that, if he were a sculptor, he would portray him not with a pen in his hand but with hand uplifted blessing his people with the sign of peace.

M. Bordeaux is right in saying that St. Francis de Sales was bishop more than writer, but he used his talent for writing to further his duty as bishop with such success that we of to-day come to know him first through his writings, then as bishop.

The printed page is tremendously important in the modern world, especially in the cause of truth. St. Francis de Sales is justly proclaimed as patron of Catholic journalism. Perhaps his combination of talents of shepherd, publicist and saint, are best summarized in the words of that gifted interpreter of the Salesian spirit, Father Edward Campbell, who wrote in a noteworthy editorial, entitled *Journalistic Ideals* in *The Pilot*, Jan. 30, 1926, for the feast of St. Francis de Sales, patron of Catholic journalists:

> "St. Francis possessed the rare gift of making Catholic doctrines leap into life on the printed page. By deft little touches he brought out with grace and elegance the beauties of the spiritual life, and enlivened the most abstruse doctrines with illustrations that were marvellously opposite and deliciously spontaneous. But in all his years of writing and preaching he adhered to one maxim, that love was a higher interpreter of truth than logic. Charity was his watchword, but with him, as with His Divine Master, charity was truth and truth was charity."

M. T. M.

Le Régiment de Carignan. Par Régis Roy et Gérard Malchelosse. Préface de Aegidius Fauteux, bibliothécaire à S.—Sulpice. Montréal: Ducharme. Pp. 130.

Romance does not die while the memory of the Régiment de Carnignan lives! Despite the measured phrases and judicial appraisals, made by careful historians, the thrills of the Grand Siècle leap out again from the remnants that, pieced together, tell the story of this regiment. To us it recalls the French colonial empire of North America, for these soldiers were the first sent from France to protect the scattered colonists almost swallowed up in the woods and out-numbered by the Indians.

The regiment was established in 1644 in the time of the ascendency of the French army, begun by Henry IV and developed by Louis XIII and Louis quatorze. It was named for a younger son of Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy, Thomas Francois de Savoie, Prince de Carignan, 1596-1656, who, after notable campaigns in Italy and Spain, was finally, through Cardinal Mazarin, appointed grand-maître of France, after the disgrace of Condé. It was ordered for colonial service in 1664 together with four companies from other regiments, and was the only regiment which served in North America as a unit,—all the other French troops that came here were composed of companies of various regiments.

Previously the regiment of Johann Balthazar had been incorporated with the regiment of Carignan, in the reorganization of the army, but when the Carignan-Balthazar regiment was ordered to Canada both of its leaders remained in France, leaving the command in charge of Henri de Chastelard, Marquis de Saliéres, from whom it was known as the Régiment de Carignan Salières. It was presumed that the colonial campaign would be short, so that some of the officers sent substitutes abroad, but many of the original officers came as well as many junior officers from noble families who wanted to observe actual military operations.

Their first duty in Canada was to eliminate the danger of Indian attack on the colonists. Since most of the danger was threatened by the war-like tribes in what is now northern New York State, the line of resistance was naturally along the Riche-

lieu River, the direct approach from the Saint Laurence to the Chaplaine lake district, the Dutch Fort Orange on the Hudson, and Manhattan. The first forts were built by the soldiers themselves on the Richelieu River,—at the rapids, now Chambly, then at Fort Richelieu at Sorel and Fort Sainte-Thérèse. The vicissitudes of these forts are themselves a most interesting story. M. Sulte devotes volume 9 of his Mélanges historiques to Fort de Chambly, which is to-day one of the most majestic ruins in all North America. Indeed Chambly, as fort, as town, and as parish, has such an interesting history that it is a pity Dr. Zivierlien completely ignored it in his *Life of Bishop McQuaid* who had been a student at Chambly College.

The forts were used as headquarters for the troops. A disastrous campaign against the Iroquois was made during the winter of 1666, in which the sufferings of the soldiers were terrific from cold, hunger, and wrong methods of attack because of failure to adapt French battle systems to the changed country and manner of Indian warfare.

Can we not sense the drama of that scene recounted laconically by M. de Salières in his report in the Bibliotèque Nationale, where scarcely twenty-five hundred people, soldiers, colonists, traders, missionaries, nuns, mothers and children, far from their mild cultivated native soil, enveloped by snow-covered hills and ice-bound rivers, gather together before the exposed Blessed Sacrament in Forty Hours' Devotion to pray for success against the Iroquois, February 20, 1666.

On the whole, despite failures, the Indians were effectually stopped from further serious attack on the colonists.

Their work being done, the regiment was recalled to France, 1667-1668, to continue battling for the Supremacy of the King. But many of the soldiers were permitted to remain as settlers. Lands were awarded them and aid given them to establish homes in Bas-Canada. Some of Canada's best families trace their ancestry back to the Régiment de Carignan which thus proves its rank among the very first movements which have come to be the last remnant of France in the new world.

This slight volume of M. M. Roy and Malchelosse does not stand alone but is a summary and comment on researches made by the late Benjamin Sulte and published by him in final form

under the same title as volume 8 of Mélanges historiques in 1922. The latter should be read with the volume under review to give a connected story of the regiment. For it is due to M. Sulte's indefatigable and thankless labors that the story of the Régiment de Carignan has been unearthed. M. Malchelosse is his historical heir which accounts for the dependence of the present publication on the preceding work. Recently necessary transcripts have been made from the official archives in France and from the Bibliotèque Nationale, some of which are reproduced in this book, which, together with M. Audet's discoveries in the archives at Ottawa, have shed further light on matter which was unavailable to M. Sulte. Emphasis has been placed on ascertaining as complete a roster as possible of the regiment. Success marks this effort. Very important also is the summary of the accomplishments of the regiment, defense of its moral character and appraisal of its place in Canadian history. From the facts detailed in these two volumes a delightful novel, or at least a dramatic narrative, could be developed which would make this heroic story live again for the general reader.

M. T. M.

Irish Litanies. Text and translation. Edited from the manuscripts by the Rev. Charles Plummer, M. A. London, 1925. [Vol. LXII of the Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society.]

The latest volume published by the Henry Bradshaw Society for editing rare liturgical texts, a society sponsored in great part by the librarians of the Bodleian, British Museum, and Vatican libraries, has been prepared from Irish manuscripts by the erudite Rev. Charles Plummer. He has drawn his material from many famous depositories of ancient Irish manuscripts and has printed the original text as it is, carrying over the Latin phrases exactly, but translating and annotating the Irish portions. The work is very carefully documented throughout, comparison being made between different texts, where the litanies exist in more than one manuscript. The author is careful to state that these litanies were not intended for formal church use but for private devotion. They concern many of the dogmas of religion and

are full of beautiful allusions. Interesting in themselves, therefore, they also serve as sources of ancient Irish history by their references to historical persons and places, to which additional value is given by Dr. Plummer's scholarship.

Great Britain and the American Civil War. By Ephraim Douglas Adams. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925. 2 Vols. Illustrated. Pp. xi + 307; vii + 340.

Little by little our knowledge of what really happened in the diplomatic field during our civil war is being enlarged. Professor Adams' two volume work is the latest essay on this subject. In 1908 he planned a survey of English public opinion on our conflict. Unusual opportunities came to him, opportunities that broadened his outlook. He worked with Charles Francis Adams on the life of Mr. Adams' father, who had been our war minister at London. Professor Adams wrote the second volume, covering the years 1848-1860, and had brought together and organized the material for the third volume when Mr. Adams died. Then came the great War which arrested the work of more than one industrious scholar. The British archives were closed to searchers beyond the year 1859. This obstacle Professor Adams presently overcame. Many documents were in private hands. These papers also he traced and consulted. The Russian diplomatic correspondence connected with our civil war he likewise surveyed. These new sources of information, and others mentioned in the foot-notes, warrant Professor Adams' trust that a "fairly true estimate may be made of what the American Civil War meant to Great Britain; how she regarded it and how she reacted to it" (I, p. vii).

Professor Adams' work is, as he states, "primarily a study in British history" because he believes that, though our civil war had a "world significance," it was peculiarly significant for the British. He believes that England acted moderately for the preservation of her interests. She was obliged to consider her cotton supply from the South. On this commodity depended the welfare of not a few of her mill owners and workers. Their situation was bound to become serious if, as events showed, the

war was to be not a matter of weeks but of months. She was obliged to consider also her commerce with the South. Not a little British capital was invested in this trade. The commercial situation became menacing when the North proclaimed its blockade of the Southern ports. Although there were some regrettable incidents in the history of Anglo-American relations in decades preceding the civil war, none was so serious as to cause the British government to favor the South. Unfortunately, Seward, our Secretary of State, had in the years prior to the war given utterance to strong anti-British sentiments, and in the first months of the conflict, before Lincoln became master of his cabinet, had expressed his belief that a war with England would reunite the warring sections of the United States. Trying, too, was the press on both sides of the Atlantic. To the end of the war did the *London Times* strive "to preserve British confidence in the Southern cause," and the *Army and Navy Gazette* nearly matched the *Times* in its predictions that ultimately the South would win, and that, therefore, the interests of Britain demanded the recognition of Southern independence, if not of intervention in its behalf. Altogether Palmerston and Russell deserve much credit for steadfastly adhering to the policy which they adopted soon after hostilities had begun in America. Neither could be moved from his original position. After some vessels, built for the confederacy in English shipyards, had got to sea and commenced their predatory voyages, the ministry even risked an adverse decision by the courts in actions brought by the ship builders to prevent the seizure of such vessels *on suspicion*. The British Foreign Enlistment Act of 1861 required proof of their offensive character, which proof could, of course, be in hand only after the vessels had committed a war-like act at sea.

Professor Adams, therefore, happily corrects mistaken views about the attitude of England towards us in our days of supreme trial. Some may think him guilty of seeking to exonerate the British government, but such thinking is not well-founded. Some may take him to task for slighting some topics, such as the Trent Affair. Their quarrel with him, too, is for the most part without foundation. Topics that are not fully treated in this book have been thoroughly covered by others. Professor Adams contents

himself with summarizing and, if there is need of it, revising the "findings" of students in his field. In the opinion of the reviewer there is little ground for criticism. Professor Adams has produced one of the most notable historical works of the year 1925.

The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century. By Herbert L. Osgood. New York: Columbia University Press. 1924. 4 vols. Pp. xxxii, 552; xxiv, 554; xxviii, 580; xxiv, 457.

The story of this work, unquestionably one of the most important that has appeared in the field of our colonial history in some years, is well worth telling. The manuscript was "left nearly complete at the time of the author's death, September 11, 1918. His last illness came without much preliminary warning, and there was no time for going over his manuscript with the strict revision that he doubtless would have given it." This task, then, fell to Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, who fiilled in blanks, checked references, and developed some notes that had been roughly indicated, worked out an analytical table of contents, *et cetera*. A book that is written, unfortunately, must still reckon with a printer. The last paragraph of Professor Fox's prefatory note is a sad commentary on the present state of affairs in our wealthy and professedly education-loving country.

"Quite unexpectedly the problem of printing turned out to be difficult, and for a long time, indeed, seemed insoluble. Though there was universal esteem for the author and his work, commercial publishers believed that the volumes could not be sold in sufficient numbers to pay for their production. The resources of the endowed presses were found to be inadequate for such an enterprise. Finally the publication by the Columbia University Press was made possible through a substantial donation from Mr. Dwight W. Morrow, once a student of Professor Osgood in the School of Political Science at Columbia" (I, p. v).

Professor Osgood's present work is both like and unlike his earlier *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*. It is like its predecessor in point of view and method of treatment. It is unlike its predecessor in that emphases are changed. As in the earlier work, the point of view is politico-economic, "with

the emphasis on the first part of the compound" (I, p. ix). "The two (points of view)" says the author, "never can be and never ought to be separated." The historian is compelled by the very complexity of his subject, be it ever so limited in scope and time, to "choose from among a number of points of view . . . and (to) adhere consistently to his chosen path throughout . . . Criticism," he believes, "should be directed to the measure of success attained under this limitation." Professor Osgood's contention is obviously reasonable. Judged with this limitation in mind, the present work does not fall short of the high standard which he set in his earlier work. Governmental organizations, administrative problems, political policies, legislative activities, gubernatorial troubles are treated at length with great thoroughness. To read these volumes, however, one must either still have an unusually lively interest in their subject matter or be under some compulsion.

Though criticism should be, and in this review is primarily, directed to the measure of success which the author attains under the limitations he has imposed on the scope of his work, we may well ask whether or not he is justified in adhering to the point of view of his earlier history. The outlook in history has shifted in the course of two decades which elapsed between the appearance of his *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* and his *American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*. Historians have come to realize that in this world men live not on bread alone and are not interested solely in their institutions. Professor Osgood's work, then, already seems to belong to the past along with that of Doyle. Fidelity to his point of view will give to Professor Osgood's two works the stateliness which there is in the structural consistency of a mediaeval cathedral that was begun and finished in one architectural epoch. The cathedrals that we love, however, show architectural progress. Most of the mediaeval builders were not inelastic in their ideas. Their readiness to follow the trend of architectural development makes their work dynamic, of ever living interest.

The present work is, however, not slavishly like its predecessor. Emphases are different, but, of course, still politico-economic. In the earlier work on colonial beginnings the form of government was so important that types of political organization

could be made the "basis upon which the material in the work as a whole was classified." The eighteenth century, however, presented different conditions. The colonies tended to "coalesce into one system under the control of the British government." The material in the present work is classified, therefore, on "the basis (of) . . . the colonies as a whole, in their internal growth, their interrelations, and their connection with Great Britain." The wars of the period covered in the volumes, 1690-1763, are so important, however, in the estimation of Professor Osgood, that he has thrown them into the foreground and made them "in a sense the basis upon which the material has been classified." There seems, then, to be a double classification of matter, which but for the following explanation might prove confusing to us. "The work has been divided into parts according to the succession of wars and intervals of peace in the prolonged struggle between the British and the French. In connection with these, though not in unnecessary subordination to them, have been traced the varied and successive phases of British imperial policy, the development of those general aspects of colonial life above referred to, and the growth and characteristics of the individual colonies." (I, p. viii, ix).

Were tables of contents not tedious reading, we should venture to give the chapter headings as they occur. We shall therefore, content ourselves with a summary. Part One consists of twenty-four chapters, filling the first volume and half of the second, and covers the period of the first and second intercolonial wars, 1690-1714. Two chapters, the first on the administrative frame work of the British empire at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the second on the intercolonial wars in general, introduces us to the subject. Then follows a chapter on King William's War. We are not spared the details of the operations. Three valuable chapters on the beginnings of the Broad of Trade and the Trade Act of 1696 (chs. iv, v, vi) are succeeded by six on the internal history of New York (chs. vii, viii), Massachusetts (ch. ix), Virginia (ch. x), Maryland (ch. xi), and New Jersey (ch. xii). We then come to Queen Ann's War (ch. xiii). More interesting chapters follow: a review of Indian relations and the development of the Western frontier (ch. xiv); of the British policy in reference to the production of naval stores (ch.

xv); of piracy during the early colonial wars (ch. xvi); and of the expansion of the Anglican church (ch. xvii). Part One ends with a particular treatment of New York and New Jersey (chs. xviii, xix), Massachusetts (ch. xx), Virginia (chs. xxi, xxiii), Maryland (ch. xxii), and Pennsylvania (ch. xxiv). Part Two deals with the colonies during the interval of peace between the second and third intercolonial wars, 1714-1740. The chapters again are either general or particular in their scope. The opening chapter on the attitude of the Cabinet, Parliament, and the Board of Trade toward questions of commerce and colonization is admirably done. Its connection with chapters iv, v, vi, of Part One is immediately evident. Then follow chapters on the internal history of South Carolina (ch. ii), North Carolina (ch. iii), New York and New Jersey (chs. iv, v). The progress of the particular narratives is interrupted by another admirable chapter on immigration (ch. vi). Pennsylvania (ch. vii), Maryland (ch. viii), Georgia (ch. ix), in turn receive attention. Before New England is reached, there are two chapters on the English Church and the Dissenters (chs. x, xi). The New England colonies are discussed in five chapters. Part Two concludes with a chapter on Indian relations (ch. xvii). Part Three covers the period of the last two intercolonial wars, 1740-1763. Ecclesiastical matters are surveyed in the two opening chapters, and King George's War in the third. Then follow chapters on the mid-century problems of colonial administration in Massachusetts (ch. iv), New Jersey (ch. v), Pennsylvania (ch. vi), Virginia (chs. vii, xii), South Carolina (chs. viii, xiii), North Carolina (chs. ix, xi), and New York (ch. x). The concluding chapters deal with westward expansion and the Albany Congress (ch. xiv), and the operations of the French and Indian War (chs. xv, xvi, xvii).

From the survey of the contents we see that, in addition to the internal histories of the several colonies, certain topics can be pieced together;—The operations of the wars of the period (Pt. I, chs. ii, iii, xiii; Pt. III, chs. iii, xv, xvi, xvii), trade and trade problems (Pt. I, chs. iv ,v, vi, xv, xvi; Pt. II, ch. i), religion (Pt. I, ch. xvii; Pt. II, chs. x, xi; Pt. III, chs. i, ii), Indian relations and the West (Pt. I, ch. xiv; Pt. II, ch. xiv). The balance between the chapters general in scope and those relating to par-

ticular colonies is well kept; there are 23 of the former and 25 of the latter. Of these 25 chapters, eleven deal with the New England colonies, twelve with the Middle Colonies, and fifteen with the Southern colonies. It is a pity, as the editor writes, that Professor Osgood did not live to write "a chapter on slavery as it stood before the law in the colonies and affected government with respect to land, defense, finance, and other matters, and another chapter in which he would compare institutional tendencies in the continental colonies with those of Ireland and the West India Islands, discussions—especially the latter—where his power of generalization would have had full play." Death also stayed the writing of an account of the Peace of Paris, and of an essay summing up the conclusions from the four volumes.

The work has been well edited and is marred by few errors, but unfortunately it is not provided with an index, a defect only partly atoned for by its analytical table of contents.

F. J. TSCHAN.

NOTICES

(Selected volumes from this list will be reviewed in later issues).

Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica: Vitae adhuc Ineditae Sanctorum Mac Creiche Naile Cranat. Ad Fidem Codicum Manu Scriptorum recognovit Prolegomenis Notis Indicibus instruxit Carolus Plummer, apud Dunelmenses in Sacra Theologia, apud Dublinienses in Litteris Honoris Causa Doctor. [subsidia Hagiographica, 15.] (Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1925, pp. 288).

Reviewing this volume in the *American Historical Review*, Dr. Joseph Dunn, Professor of Celtic Literature at the Catholic University of America says:

This volume may be regarded as an *addendum* to the two masterly collections which appeared under the same editorship at Oxford in 1910 and 1922.

Their literary value is of the slightest: they are dull, monotonous, dry, and dreary, and the translation, which keeps close to the Irish, is consequently, both as a work of edification and as literature, no more interesting than the original. Their importance, which is great, consists in the many precise indications they furnish of the social life and manners of the medieval Irish and in their contribution to hagiological folk-lore.

The book, like all of the editor's work, shows careful editing, and the correctness of the Irish text, the exactness of the translation, and the abundance of as on the presence of an infixed pronoun in *rod ainic* and *ron ainic* and on notes leave little to be desired. Yet a few remarks of a grammatical nature, such unusual expressions, such as *psalm-ghabhail a psalm 14*, might well have been added.

But it is with the "Tentative Catalogue of Irish Hagiology" which occupies nearly one-half of the book, that the learned editor has rendered inestimable services to more than one branch of historical science.

The Greatest Story in the World: Period III, The Development of the Modern World, by Horace G. Hutcheson (D. Appleton & Co., New York) is the final volume of the series under the above title. It aims to give an outline sketch of the happenings of the last five centuries. The first volume of the series is devoted to "the centre of all early civilization, the Mediterranean" and reviews in outline the story of Egypt, Crete, Babylon, the Jews, Greeks, and Romans. The second treats of the period from 100 A. D. to 1500 A. D., "from the colorful days of the dissolution of the Roman Empire through the extent of the Middle Ages." There is no over-emphasis of dates, names, and details; it is "a presentation of a great chapter of pageantry and human life in civilization's course."

Medieval Cities, Their Origins and the Revival of Trade, by Henri Pirenne translated by F. D. Halsey (The Princeton University Press) contained the substance of lectures delivered by Professor Pirenne, of the University of Ghent, in American universities during the autumn of 1822. M. Pirenne says: "It is an attempt to expound, in a general way, the economic awakening and birth of urban civilization in Western Europe during the Middle Ages." Further, he assures

us that it is "only a synthesis, the result of long years of study and research." M. Pirenne is easily the greatest authority on this subject and he it was who really introduced many of us to the problems of medieval urban history by a series of articles in the *Revue Historique* many years ago. M. Pirenne's book is one of the most valuable contributions to the study of medieval history which has appeared in recent days.

Storia Ecclesiastica Contemporanea, by Orazio M. Premoli. (Turin: Marrietti). This is a useful general sketch of the story of the Catholic Church from 1900 to 1925. After two general chapters the author deals with Catholic progress in the countries of the world, and in the various quarters of the foreign mission field. The information given about post-war conditions in the new States of Eastern Europe is useful. The chapter on England is valuable, but the section dealing with the Church in the United States leaves much to be desired. The author shows a much juster appreciation of the Anglican position than most foreign writers. He pays warm tribute to the reasonable treatment which the Church on the whole receives here from the government and public. He seems to find the spelling of English names a difficulty.

Summarium Theologiae Moralis, by Fr. N. Sebastiani. Edito Septima Major. Also Editio Octava Minor. (Turin: Marietti).

The larger edition of this work has now reached 23,000 copies, and the smaller—a pocket volume nicely bound in cloth—30,000. These facts, together with the warm eulogium by His Holiness Pope Pius X. prefixed to the work, should suffice to recommend it to our clergy and ecclesiastical students.

De Censuris Latae Sententiae, by Albertus D. Cippolini. (Turin: Marietti), is a treatise, based on the new Canon Law, by the Professor of Ethics and Moral Theology in the Seminary of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Orchard Lake, Michigan. It is a useful volume for Seminary students, for whom presumably it has been compiled.

Livro do Nordeste commemorativo do primeiro centenario do Diario do Pernambuco, 1825-1925, edited by Gilberto Freyre. (Pernambuco, Brazil.) is composed of a group of studies descriptive of various aspects of the life for the past hundred years of the six states of Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, Alagoas, Parahyba and Piauhy which compose the so-called Nordeste of Brazil. It commemorates the centennial of the founding of the *Diario de Pernambuco,* a distinguished publication which enjoys the honor of being the oldest newspaper in Latin America. One would ordinarily expect that a publication designed to honor so practical an institution as a modern newspaper would be largely concerned with eulogies of contemporary political and commercial celebrities and exaggerated statements about the material growth of the city in which it is located. But Gilberto Freyre, the young editor of the Centennial Book of the *Diario de Pernambuco,* is not content with formal statements about the progressive factors in Pernambucan civilization, preferring adventures into historical

researches and interpretations of a type familiar only to the most discriminating Brazilian writers. The social phases of Brazilian life, which have absorbed the attention of so many eminent foreign visitors to Brazil, but of which only a few natives like Oliveira Lima and Oliveira Vianna have been conscious, are vividly exploited to the neglect of the somewhat barren political history of the country. In place of doctrinaire interpretations of events, like those so common in Brazil where many have taken Positivism as a religion, is a profound respect for the Church and the slave-holding aristocracy, the two most potent influences in the making of the *Nordeste*. Although the contributors to this volume are at times didactic and quite unappreciative of the blessings of modern progress, they construct no make-believe republic of progressive idealism but exalt the mysticism, the picturesque customs and exclusiveness which have been the principal realities of tropical Brazil. The chief fault of the book—if one can forgive its reactionary flavor—is a common failure of printers in tropical America: there are few pages on which all the type is clear enough to read. The picturesque illustrations of Sr. M. Bandeira are often blurred.

The most notable contribution of the work is the editor's frank and intimate portrayal of the history of the family and social life of the *Nordeste*. A distinguished chapter is Luis Cedro's study of Vital Maria Gonçalves de Oliveria, the Bishop of Pernambuco, whose firm stand against Dom Pedro II's Masonic sympathies was a potent cause in discrediting the Second Empire. Articles of note on the international phases of Brazilian life are contributed by Oliveira Lima and Fidelino de Figueiredo. Most colorful among the many descriptions of local communities is Adhemor Vidal's picture of life in the quaint city of Parahyba. Sr. Freyre's history of sugar culture in the *Nordeste* is notable for the interesting thesis, based on the testimony of foreign visitors, that slavery in Brazil was not cruel and that Brazilian Abolutionist orators who believed it was such were the dupes of English Abolutionists, who of course had no actual knowledge of Brazilian conditions. The latter chapters are concerned with discriminating criticism of the efforts of native artists. The editor gives Brazilian painters the sound advice that they should not neglect rich native customs and landscapes in order to chase after foreign models.

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS.

Factors in American History, by A. F. Pollard (Macmillan, New York) comprises a series of lectures under the Sir George Watson Foundation addressed to British audiences with a view to foster in England an interest in American history. Professor Pollard says anent the attitude of English students towards American institutions: "If Britons were as conspicuously eager to learn about the States as American students are about England, there would be fewer obstacles to that better understanding which it is the object of the Sir George Watson Foundation to foster." This is an unusual treatment of American history, and opens new avenues to the student. Many are likely to dissent from Professor Pollard's view of events, but none will question his impartiality.

The Book of the Popes, by Dr. F. J. Bayer, translated from the German by E. M. Lamond with preface by Herbert Thurston, S.J. (Harper & Brothers, New

York) is an exceptionally attractive and useful volume, popular rather than critical. It contains an enormous amount of valuable information. The letter-press is really an incident in the book which abounds in illustrations constituting a miniature gallery of portraits of the popes, a complete collection of papal arms and a reproduction of papal seals and coins which may serve as an introduction to a fascinating field of research. Those who have never had the privilege of visiting Rome will be able by a careful perusal of this handsome volume to obtain a vast amount of knowledge which even ordinary visitors to the Eternal City often fail to acquire.

The Italian Immigrant and Our Courts, by John M. Mariano, Ph.D. (The Christopher Publishing House, Boston) is a statement of the difficulties which confront the Italian immigrant in America, especially in relation to American laws. Dr. Mariano, who is a practical lawyer, is well qualified to discuss this very important subject, and he has given us a lucid and interesting portrayal of the many legal problems facing the Italian immigrant. He writes from his experiences as professional work brings him into frequent and direct contact with the people whose difficulties he so clearly discusses. Dr. Mariano states: "This little book proposes no ultimate solution. Of course, in the case of the Italian the problem is not solely legalistic: it is sociological and economic as well and involves major problems of adjustment and assimilation." To those who make unqualified statements regarding the criminality of the Italian, we commend for careful reading the chapter which deals with "The Italian Offender." Here he cites statistics which demonstrate conclusively that Italians do not rank high in commitments to penal institutions.

Studies in English Commerce and Exploration in the Reign of Elizabeth. I. *England and Turkey*, by Albert Lindsay Rowland. II. *The English Search for a Northwest Passage in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*, by George Born Manhart (Press of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia). These studies are doctoral theses submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania. The former is valuable to students of British diplomacy; the latter is useful to students of geography and gives us in compact form material which is not readily available.

Gilbert Parker's *The Power and the Glory* (Harper Brothers, New York) is a disappointment. As a romance it grips the reader from the beginning to the end; as an histoical novel (which it purports to be) it is a tissue of malevolent insinuations betraying lamentable lopsidedness. Unlike other productions of Parker it is a hybrid where historicity is submerged in a mass of glittering banalities and misstatements. As an illustration we give this (found on page 35): "A Jesuit society called the Sainte Famille, which met every Tuesday at Cathedral with closed doors, where they told of all that had happened during the week, and nothing was told against the Jesuits. It was a sort of female inquisition." There are many similar passages.

It is to be regretted that the author should have descended to the level of the now too common literary "pot boiler" whose sole delight seems to be to produce

a *chronique scandalense*. It is unfortunate, too, that the romantic career of La Salle, one of the noblest and best of the makers of New France, should find itself in such a setting. It is hard to conceive that an author who writes in a foreword, "No greater heroism, no greater devotion to an ideal, ever inspired any man than that which led the Jesuit missionaries and explorers to the remote corners of America," could later be guilty of such an offensive use of the term "Jesuitical." Whilst we do not wish to whitewash the much-maligned Recollect, Father Hennepin, we do not think he merits Parker's characterization (found on page 72), "as false a friar as ever wore the gray capote, who would grossly exaggerate, a conscious but contented liar."

We extend a cordial greeting to *Antonianum*—a new Franciscan Quarterly—edited and published by the Professors of the International Franciscan College of Saint Anthony, in Rome. It was inaugurated with the purpose of keeping pace with the growing revival of Franciscan studies throughout the world and as a fitting tribute to the seventh centenary of the death of St. Francis which is being celebrated during the present year. The title *Antonianum* was chosen because St. Anthony was the first professor of theology appointed by St. Francis for his Order.

The prospectus states:

The *Antonianum* will embrace all philosophical and theological studies taught in the post-graduate course of the aforesaid college, hence the various branches of philosophy, dogmatic, moral and ascetical theology, patristic science, canon law, biblical science, Church history and sacred eloquence. Under the immediate direction of a select body of professors it purposes to illustrate particularly the work of the great Franciscan scholars of the Middle Ages and of Franciscan writers in general, and to keep in touch with the latest achievements in the field of sacred sciences.

Not only the professors of St. Anthony College, but all Franciscan writers are invited to contribute to its pages. The official language of the periodical is Latin, though articles in English, German, French, Italian and Spanish are not excluded. These modern languages, however, shall as much as possible be held to a minimum, and a synthesis in Latin will be appended to every such article.

The *Antonianum* will appear in the usual octavo size and will contain about 120 pages quarterly. Subscription price is 35 lire (Italian currency), or at the present rate of exchange $1.50 in American currency.

We welcome with pleasure *Thought*, the new quarterly of the sciences and letters which appeared in June. It is edited by members of the Society of Jesus and is intended to be a review of current thought and modern problems, and a clearing-house for scholarly work. It will carry articles of sustained and thoughtful character presenting the subject in an analytical and constructive manner.

The initial number seems to indicate that it will not be unlike the learned *Stimmen der Zeit*, of Munich, edited by the scholarly Dr. Sierp with the collaboration of a number of distinguished scholars whose work lies largely in the field of specialization.

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Aggregated to the Board of Editors and Associate Editors are a group of scholars, each well equipped in his own specialty. The function of this group will be to advise the respective Associate Editors upon matters of research import, and upon questions touching the timeliness and scholarly value of any submitted manuscript. Through such a group of appraisers both soundness of doctrine and progressiveness of outlook will be secured for the quarterly.

The June issue has a sesquicentennial essay on The Catholic Church in the United States (1776-1926) by Dr. Peter Guilday; a literary essay by Father James J. Daly; an able paper on Miguel Molinos by Montgomery Carmichael; and a lofty theological poem, Angelicus, by Father Feeney. Father Moorhouse F. X. Millar discusses Scholastic Philosophy and American Political Theory in a masterly manner, followed by a series of splendid book reviews.

We have received a number of *The Catholic Art Review* the purpose of which is to deal with art and aesthetic questions from a Catholic standpoint. The Foreword says:

"Such a periodical is needed to overcome the lethargy which largely prevails among Catholics in regard to all things aesthetic and *Inter alia*, stimulate a desire for better church building and decoration; foster and coördinate meritorious contemporary effort; focus attention in which artists and critics may express their views and ambitions; conduce to a better appreciation of the great monuments of Catholic art of the past, and a more intelligent and zealous care for their preservation. It would indeed be superfluous to attempt to indicate the many ways in which a Catholic art magazine could be helpful. Suffice it to say that it will be our aim to help in every possible way."

The contents of the initial number are varied. The contributors cover a wide field; Mr. Gaetan de Florestan makes an appeal to Catholic artists in

England (and in America, also) to assert themselves as Catholic artists in certain European countries are doing so effectively. There is a lengthy article on the Spanish artist, "El Greco," by Mr. Cathal Enri, with several splendid reproductions of his religious pictures and portraits. M. Georges Desvallières offers some important reproductions of modern religious paintings, and contributes a very stimulating essay on the place of art in Catholic life. An article by Mrs. K. L. Jenner on "The Symbolism of Death in Art" is finely illustrated with Durer engravings. "Canterbury" is the subject of a contribution (an initial one of a series, we hope) by "Ramblex." A French contribution, "La Renaissance Pascalienne," by Professor Fortunat Strowski will not, we fancy, appeal to either an English or an American mentality. Whilst we may be interested in the poetic flights and fancies of Paul Claudel, we are perhaps too prosaic to regard Pascal as "le plus grand poête lyrique-ou-plutôt le seul poête lyrique-du XVII siècle."

The editor of this ambitious venture, Mr. Sydney Lee, deserves the highest praise for giving us this admirably-produced periodical, and we hope that his enterprise may be amply rewarded.

The Catholic Art Bulletin, which comes to us from St. Anselm's College, Manchester, is the official organ of the Federation of Catholic Arts. It is very unlike the splendid periodical noticed above, and is rather an appeal to those interested in "Catholic Art Development" to rally to the support of the Federation. Father Raphael, O.S.B., seems to be the contributor of most of the contents. We reproduce his appeal for support:

The purpose of the Federation is to unite artists and lovers of Catholic Art for the promotion and development of true Christian Art, to diffuse knowledge and appreciation of Catholic Art and to provide for the welfare of Catholic art students. No one has ever found any fault with these aims and ideals; on the contrary, many have expressed their sincere appreciation of them and promised their hearty support and coöperation.

We have reason to believe that the immediate purpose of the present Federation is not properly understood. Many consider our activities as "the comprehensive, practical plan," which Mr. John T. Comes wanted to see evolved and put into execution. But this is not true. Our imemdiate aim is to unite artists and lovers of Catholic Art for the purpose of promoting and developing Christian Art. In other words, we are endeavoring to register all who are interested in this movement; we are prospecting and testing the ground to determine the character of the soil on which the proposed structure of Catholic art activities is to be built. The various proposals we made during the past six years were intended to elicit practical suggestions which would eventually pave the way for definite action. We assumed the role of a silent observer and adopted the policy of watchful waiting. We kept our ears on the ground in the hope of hearing a response to our repeated appeals for unity and coöperation in behalf of Catholic Art.

The response has been very feeble so far, and not at all commensurate with the results we wish to obtain.

Out of the Austrian gloom comes to us a gleam of brightness that will, we hope, blazon forth into a better future. Two years ago, in Vienna, the writer

heard so many tales of woe, saw so much splendid beggary, came in contact with so many struggling scholars, that it seemed far in the future ere there should be a rift in the cloud of misery which hung like a pall over the city which once played host to the most brilliant assemblage of crowned heads that ever gathered in the history of Europe.

This gleam comes in the form of Dr. Joseph Eberle's new journal, *Schönerè Zukunft* which may be anglicised by the title "A Better Future." The new weekly is a model of journalism, and is not unlike the distinguished London *Tablet* in form and feature. Dr. Eberle's programme may be summed up in the introductory, where he says: "We must not be afraid of the task of using the whole of the cultural energies of the Church that has lived for two thousand years. . . . The ideas and principles upon which this culture has been founded must be just as essential a part of our conversation and our writing as they are of our private lives. Let us have more religious thought, more intellectual substance, more concern with the things which are eternal in their essence." We cordially endorse the appeal made by the editor of the *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis) on behalf of Dr. Eberle's venture. A correspondent wrote us recently from Vienna and states that the circulation of *Schönere Zukunft* is "quite large already, and I hope American Catholics will become interested in this great work; it means so much to us stricken Austrians."

In acknowledging the receipt of the first number of *Speculum*, the writer offered a congratulatory word to its distinguished editor-in-chief, Dr. Rand, and assured him the support of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW in furthering the movement which culminated in the establishment of the Mediaeval Academy, of which *Speculum* is the official organ. The programme of *Speculum* is outlined in Dr. Rand's "Preface" where by the way we have noticed that the continuator of the *Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meung, "le Boiteaux" has been subjected to an Americanisation process orthographically (the name as spelled is minus the suggestion of the town by the Loire which indicates his niche in the literary temple). May we add that we doubt the wisdom of serving a *rechauffé* of the writings of either de Meung or Guillaume de Lorris as pabulum for the serious students whom *Speculum* aims to serve.

Among our most recent exchanges is *Au Christ Roi: Echos de son Régne Social*, the organ of the Société du Règne Social de Jesus-Christ, at Paray-le Monial. Founded by M. Georges Noaillat and Madame de Noillat (whose recent death is noted elsewhere in our columns) it begins its career with the *imprimatur* and the blessings of the Bishops of Autun and Belley. Its purpose is to popularize the teachings contained in the papal encylical which promulgated the new Feast of Christ the King. It numbers among its actual and prospective contributors some of the prominent Catholic writers in France. Its policy is guaranteed in the following note: "Nous marcherons en surêté avec les directives donneés par Pie XI et par nos deux Ordinaires, Mgr. l'archevêque de Tours qui est le theologien de Notre Société, et Mgr. Chassagnon sous la direction de qui sera publié notre Bulletin et sur la bienoullance eclairée duquel nous pouvons compter entièrement."

Forty-one years ago the spot at Auriesville, N. Y., sanctified by the blood of Jesus martyrs, was identified, purchased and opened as the shrine of Our Lady of Martyrs. At the same time began to appear a little periodical bearing the title of *The Pilgrim of Our Lady of Martyrs*. All these years the magazine, issued as a quarterly, has worked quietly but effectively to foster interest in the Auriesville shrine and to promote the cause of the American martyrs. With the beatification last June of Father Jogues and his companions, *The Pilgrim* enters upon a new stage of its career. Enlarged and improved in many details the magazine will come to its subscribers hereafter every two months. With unabated zeal *The Pilgrim* will work to hasten the canonization of the American martyrs, to spread devotion to them and to erect at Auriesville a shrine worthy of those martyr heroes.

The new *Pilgrim* has become a magazine of "Jesuit Relations," and the January-February number justifies the ambitious aim. This issue, well printed and generously illustrated, is dedicated to a twentieth century hero of the North, Father F. Ruppert, S.J., who was frozen to death in Alaska in December, 1923, while on a sledge journey bearing Christmas gifts to the orphan children at Hot Springs Mission. At the time the world was thrilled at Father Ruppert's story, but the world soon forgets. Readers who prefer true to fancied stories of heroism will be gripped by "'Neath Northern Lights," and "A Small Boat on the Mighty Yukon," two of the stirring articles in the rich table of contents in this number.

The editor, Father Ignatius Cox, S.J., has made a fine beginning. *The Pilgrim* has a prospective list of well known contributors who promise to fill the columns of future numbers with lively, human interest stories from India, Japan, Alaska, Northern Canada, Jamaica, British Honduras and the Philippines. The magazine retains its devotional pages, but its scope and its appeal are much broader. *The Pilgrim* is published at 503 East Fordham, New York.

The recent appearance of the English edition of Dr. Asín's study of the Islamic influence on the Divine Comedy, published in translation by John Murray, London, recalls the arresting discoveries made in his field by the reverend professor of Arabic at the University of Madrid. The current work, which appeared in Spanish in 1919, maintains the scholarship daringly manifested in his earlier studies, especially that in which he shows that Averroes' teleological doctrine of the conciliation of reason and faith was the source of Thomas Aquinas'. Dr. Miguel Asín y Palacios is unfortunately not as well known in America as he should be and it is to be hoped that other English translations of his works will become available.

Failure to see the woods because of the trees is not an uncommon experience, especially in these United States where life is lived so rapidly and so intensely. It is the reporter, viewing the scene from some distant point of vantage, who gets the true perspective, rather than the participants in a procession or a battle. But physical detachment is not always possible; nor is it always necessary. One may get the same perspective in mental isolation and in an attempt to visualize the scene for others far remote from the arena. Such a service has been done for

us by Father Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. in an illuminating article entitled *Die catholische Kirche in Nordamerika,* in the *Stimmen Der Zeit,* pp. 422-430. In this paper, Father Parsons clearly sets forth the position of the Church in the United States (not in North America, as the title implies), the influences of its largely Protestant environment, the problems which have arisen from this situation, and the efforts of the Church to solve these problems. In describing the present status of Protestantism, the author points out the significance of the controversy between the Modernists and the Fundamentalists; the numerous defections of laity and clergy; the development within the Protestant body itself of such movements as the anti-Saloon league, the Methodists, the Ku Klux Klan, "the secular arm of the Methodist church"; the effects of the secular education of the past seventy-five years, and the logical consequence of the trial at Dayton. Father Parsons then calls attention to the fact, that Protestant though the country may be, its political thought and theory is essentially Catholic, and that it was largely owing to the embodiment of this Catholic genius, and the preservation of this political tradition, that the Supreme Court gave its decision on the Oregon question in favor of private schools. The growth of the Church and of the Catholic School System, the work done by various Catholic congresses and associations, the presence of approximately 55% of Catholic students in secular institutions, the immigrant problem as it effects our foreign Catholic population—each of these topics is discussed briefly, but pointedly, in its bearings on the position of the Church in the United States.

The two recent volumes of the Harvard Theological series, volumes 11 and 12, are catalogues, in Greek, of Greek manuscripts in the libraries of the monasterics on Mount Athos. One, published in 1924, was compiled by Sophronios Eustratiades, formerly Archbishop of Leontopolis, and Arcadios, deacon, and lists the manuscripts of Vatopedi Monastery. The 1925 volume gives the manuscripts of the Laura Monastery and was compiled by Spyridon of the Laura, monk and physician, and Sophronios Eustratiades. The catalogues were brought to light through the good offices of the Harvard Theological faculty, especially through Professors Blake and Kirsopp Lake. Their publication is due to the generosity of Mr. John Pierpont Morgan of New York.

Interest in Mount Athos and its monastic treasures is not new, but its appeal at the present time because of the growing interest in the Catholic Church of the West in our Oriental rites, should not be permitted to pass uncapitalized. For there is a great deal of church history that can probably be amplified by reference to Greek sources when they can be reached. It is exactly at this point, however, where difficulties arise, owing to reticence on the part of the Greek Orthodox clerics themselves. As Bishop Shahan says in his article on Mount Athos in the Catholic Encyclopedia, nowhere, perhaps, is the intellectual stagnation of the Greek Schism more noticeable than in this indifference of Mt. Athos to its treasures and their accessability. Professor Lake has been held back in his investigation now and then by the same spirit. But little by little the sum of knowledge of Greek treasure is being increased.

Latin manuscripts have been so well localized and dated that it is quite possible, by comparison with authentic codici, to determine with some degree of

accuracy, the date and place of a newly discovered manuscript. Greek manuscripts have not been so studied. It is Professor Lake's plan to examine and photograph all Greek manuscripts possible, for a suitable collection at Harvard University, and by arranging and comparing undated manuscripts with dated, to do with them what has been done for the Latin.

Many of the manuscripts so far obtained in facsimile by Dr. Lake are not earlier than the tenth century. Therefore, they are products of the Greek Church after the Schism. Probably, there are comparatively few documents in Greek hands that will make any real addition to Catholic Patristic knowledge which has been so faithfully preserved at the Vatican all through the centuries. Dr. Lake has found two different manuscripts, texts of Athanasius' writings against the Arians, both of which he thinks may have been written by St. Athanasius himself, rather than that one is orthodox and the other heretical. Another manuscript he found at Mt. Athos used a phrase met with in another early text of the Gospels, "who would you have . . . Jesus of Barabbas, the robber, or Jesus Who is called Christ?" The theological effect of these discoveries is not so important as is the historical aspect. What is significant is the attempt of Dr. Lake to tabulate chronologically all extant Greek manuscripts when they may be studied in relation to Latin manuscripts and to each other, providing further light as sources for ecclesiastical history.

Saturated Civilization, by Sigmund Mendelsohn. (The Macmillan Company. New York) should serve as profitable reading in a class of economics. The author does not think that our modern complex civilization yields a harvest of greater happiness than that enjoyed in past centuries. But his authorities quoted in the chapters dealing with the middle ages are not always first class. Hence to the critical student some of the assertions are open to serious debate. However, though the author has not had recourse to first sources, a careful purusal of the book will be enlightening to the average reader. The chapter on labor reforms will be particularly interesting to all engaged in welfare work.

Acoma, the Sky City, a Study in Pueblo-Indian History and Civilization, by Mrs. William T. Sedgwick. (Harvard University Press) shows that aborigenes of our country furnish rich material for archeological and ethnological research, The author has observed closely the characteristics of the Indian tribes of New Mexico and Nevada. She has given scientific study to the Sky City of Acoma, New Mexico, built "in the colored air," more than 6,500 feet above sea-level. She depicts the minute details of pueblo civilization so graphically that her story is interesting to even a casual reader. Legends, customs, and social organization are carefully scrutinized. In striking contrast to the solicitude of the Church for the temporal and spiritual welfare of these people from the early missionary days of New Spain is the present attitude of American legislation. The United States has done much for the negro. But has equal interest been manifest in the Indian? Not by bread alone doth man live. The book is well printed, profusely illustrated and provided with a copious bibliography and index.

The Worship of Nature, by Sir James George Frazer, O.M., F.R.S., F.B.A. (The Macmillan Company. New York) contains the whole of the Gifford Lectures delivered by him before the University of Edinburgh in the years 1924 and 1925, together with much additional matter which could not be compressed within the limits of twenty lectures.

The book is really an addition to the history of religions. It deals with the worship of the sky, earth, and sun among the ancient civilizations. The intellectual prestige of its author made us expect vast erudition, and we were not disappointed. Every page reveals scholarship wide and deep. In the remote past the human mind has been led into many a labyrinth of religious vagary. These Dr. Frazer deals with at length. Remnants of the story of the fall can be traced in the various cults of ancient Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania, and our own Americas. In this way man feebly tried to express his adoration of nature, little suspecting the existence of nature's God. He fell far short of the Infinite in his gropings after what was most beautiful in the finite. In turning over these pages one can not help wondering at the courage of those who, imbued from on high with a supernatural intrepidity, preached "the strange story of a crucified God," and became thereby the civilizers of Europe.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Mediaeval Academy of America Honors the Rector of the Catholic University of America.——At the first annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America held at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in Boston, the Right Rev. Rector of the Catholic University of America was chosen one of the first thirty Fellows of the Academy.

Fellows of the Academy, of which Bishop Shahan has just been elected one, are chosen from the ranks of distinguished American students of the Middle Ages. During the sessions of the Academy speakers stated that one of its chief objects will be to banish the modern tendency to regard the Middle Ages as "dark" and gloomy, and to present to the world the long-neglected contributions that era made to human advancement.

President Rand, in his address on "Mediaeval Gloom and Mediaeval Uniformity," recalled that even woman suffrage had been broached in the Middle Ages, and asserted that freedom of thought was not repressed. He decried the impression many have gained that this period constituted a "parenthesis" in the history of human thought, suggesting that "sometimes the parenthesis, like the postscript of a fair lady's letter, contains the gist of the matter."

Ralph Adams Cram of Boston, in his address, suggested that modern man might well look to the Middle Ages for inspiration and guidance. Neglect, after the Renaissance, of "the body of eternal values established during the Middle Ages has led, in modern times, to an unbalanced social order and philosophy," he declared. Only a recovery of some of these neglected values can right the balance to-day, he added, saying that it will be one of the tasks of the Academy to aid in such recovery.

"There is nothing more striking in recent history than the re-discovery of the Middle Ages during the last hundred years and the progressive appreciation of their significance, not only in themselves and in the chronicles of world-history, but for us now in our own time of change and decay and rejuvenescence," he continued. He traced the progress of this renewed interest, then added:

"Now at last, during our own generation, we have seen politics, sociology and economics, wide-eyed and wondering, proclaiming to an indifferent world that there, in the very heart of what once were called the 'Dark Ages', may perhaps be found the solution of the very problems that vex and affront us to-day.

"At the present moment there is no one department of human life that is not looked at askance and somewhere assailed for its glaring defects. The sublime confidence of nineteenth century has given place to profound doubt, deep depression and a poignant searching, if not of hearts, at least of the essence of all existing things. The danger to man and his society is now not a soporific optimism, but a too all-embracing pessimism.

"I think this result, this growing conviction that all is not for the best in the best of all possible worlds, comes from the fact that what we have built for ourselves since the last years of the fifteenth century, with its logical and triumphant culmination during the past fifty years, was the result of an unbalanced order that did not test and mould and condition its innovations by the body of eternal

values established during the preceding era of some five centuries. All this potential corrective, this dynamic spiritual energy, was discarded out of life as promptly and completely as was Gothic art, the guild system or the free, democratic monarchy."

The Academy already is well provided, in interested workers, for the task of "uncovering, annotating, codifying and interpreting the wealth of hidden treasure buried under the detritus of four centuries," and to "transmit to ever widening circles the newly-recovered wisdom and the regenerated hope," Mr. Cram declared, concluding with this estimate of its value:

"I do not know of any way more promising of success, no movement in our own time more significent, no work that has a better guarantee of attainment, and certainly none with a nobler aim."

"Puritan Boston."—Mr. Stuart Lowell Rich has an article in the American *Review of Reviews* (June), which is the subject of a caustic editorial in the *New York Times* (May 30). After citing Mr. Rich's statement:

> The Bostonian has had a rare faith in Puritanism, which is far more than a religion merely, but a well-rounded culture. * * * I venture to say that if, in another half-century, Boston sends more Kabatznicks than Cabots, more Leveronis than Lowells, to Harvard or Boston University, they will, culturally at least, be Puritans still.

The *Times* says:

> What was "Puritan culture" in Massachusetts? Puritanism was a religion—or a negation, as its enemies say—embodying itself in a theocratic-oligarchic form of government. In both aspects it broke down. As a faith, it was undermined by the thought, ever growing more liberal, of Boston and Cambridge. As a form of government, it justly fell as an oppressive and intolerable minority. With "culture" of this world it had small dealings. Of the arts it was painfully ignorant. Its books were mainly theological. If, though it loved Hebrew most, it made use of Greek and Latin, it was for the barren pedantries of quotation. The great works of English literature were unknown. The sciences scarcely existed. Not till the nineteenth century did "culture" manifest itself brilliantly. The work of the New England school of historians, essayists, poets, was in no respect Puritan. It came from men who had broken with Puritanism and most of whom had absorbed a wide foreign cultivation.
>
> That school ended and has had no successor. The most brilliant later name, that of Amy Lowell, has no connotation of Puritanism. Boston is rich in cultivated persons, but their cultivation seems sterile, not creative. There, as elsewhere, imagination is mostly employed in great business enterprises. The Bostonians of Irish origin are subject to the same tendency, albeit much of their finest genius is given to the Church and much to politics. Their "culture," like that of the Italians, has no

smack of Puritanism. Both races—and in saying so we don't forget the splendid early Irish literature—belong to the Roman world. Their adoption of Puritan "culture," had such a thing ever existed in Boston, would be even more curious than if George Santayana should form his poetical style upon that of Michael Wigglesworth and his prose style upon that of Cotton Mather.

A French-Canadian "Puritan" we should love to see. Possibly some of the immigrants into Boston from Ontario may be more sympathetic with "the Puritan heritage," though we doubt it. A Puritan Pole tickles the fancy. An ungodly number of Jews have settled in Boston, apparently for the purpose of bothering President Lowell. They have various degrees of "culture" and want of it; but they are not likely to drink deep of "Puritan culture," could it be found; and perhaps some of them have heard that the seventeenth-century Puritans were fonder of ancient than of modern Children of Israel.

Regarding the statement made by Mr. Rich: "The Puritan was a man of stern character, self-sufficient, intolerant and scrupulously honest," the writer of this note suggests that Mr. Rich read the pages in PROWSE, *History of Newfoundland*, treating of the Puritan New Englander's smuggling proclivities.

A Hallowed Spot.—The newly erected shrine in honor of the North American Martyrs, beatified last year by Pope Pius XI, was solemnly dedicated by His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell on his return trip from the Eucharistic Congress on June 27th. This shrine, situated at Midland, Ontario, on the site of old Fort Ste. Marie is one of the most hallowed and historic spots in America.

In 1639 a building dedicated to Our Lady St. Mary was erected under the supervision of Father Isaac Jogues, on the east bank of a little river connecting Lake Isaragui with Georgian Bay. This building was occupied by the missionaries, six of whom were destined for martyrdom, and became "the central point of the country and the heart of our missions." Old Fort Ste. Marie, as it came to be known, became the headquarters of those early Jesuit missionaries, whose names will be forever identified with the history of the Church in North America.

Fort Ste. Marie shortly became a place of pilgrimage for the Catholic Indians, and was the only American shrine of its time north of Mexico. In 1648 the mission was destroyed by an incursion of hostile Iroquois. A year later the whole country had to be abandoned by both Jesuits and Hurons and all traces of the early settlement were blotted out. Fort Ste. Marie disappeared and remained hidden under a dense overgrowth of trees until a century and a half later, in the middle of the nineteenth century, its foundations were laid bare.

But the hallowed shrine, so rich in historic memories, could not long be forgotten nor neglected. On June 21, 1925, at the precise moment when the martyrs who lived there two centuries ago were being given the honors of Beatification in Rome, a monument was being dedicated to their memory on the exact site of old Fort Ste. Marie. This year a large shrine suitable for the reception of

pilgrimages has been erected in their honor. This is the shrine, a noble temple crowning the brow of the hill with which the martyrs were so familiar, that was solemnly dedicated by His Eminence on June 27th, in the presence of thousands of pilgrims returning from the Eucharistic Congress.

This shrine is destined to become one of the most popular pilgrimage places in the world. Fort Ste. Marie is only a hundred miles north of Toronto, and is easily accessible from all parts of the country. Steamers from Chicago, Buffalo, and Cleveland may dock at Midland and Port McNicholl, which are nearby lake terminals. The Canadian National Railway has made the shrine a station, and travelers by rail may get off at Old Fort. A splendid government highway connects the shrine by motor cars with all parts of the United States and Canada.

An Unfounded Charge.—The hoary statement that the early Church in Wales refused to recognize the authority of the Apostolic See has been hopelessly shattered by the eminent Welsh Catholic Apologist, Mr. J. E. de H. Davies, M.A. Addressing the Catholic Citizens' Parliament in London some weeks ago, Mr. Davies, who is regarded as one of the leading historians of the Principality, said that "taking Rome away from Welsh history is like taking Rome away from the history of Western Civilization."

At the beginning of the discussion he laid down two rules for the interpretation of Welsh history:

"The whole trend of Welsh history shows that from the beginning the British Church and, later its successor, the Welsh Church, was as much a component part of Christian Rome as Britain itself had been of Imperial Rome.

"The various controversies and disputes that disturbed the relations between the British Church and the Anglo-Saxon Church on Paschal and other secondary matters, never involved the question of the authority of the Apostolic See. . . . All these disputes can be explained on grounds of racial animosity or political incompatibility."

"There is one document, and only one, among the native records, that has received any serious notice, which explicitly repudiates the authority of the Apostolic See," said Mr. Davies, "and that contains a statement attributed to the British Bishop who acted as spokesman for the British Church at the meeting on the banks of the Severn with St. Augustine in 603.

"That has been for a long time hailed with triumph by the Protestant historians as proof of the anti-Roman attitude of the early British Church. Much Welsh history has been based upon it, even to the present day.

"It has been proved to be a forgery, published to bolster up the apocryphal 'Protestant' charactor of the early British Church. Anyone having even a nodding acquaintance with Welsh would immediately turn it down; the Welsh is of the seventeenth century. A John Kensit masquerading as a Cardinal would not be a more grotesque figure than this precious document."

"It is disappointing to find so unsympathetic and so erroneous a verdict passed on the much-afflicted British Church by a Catholic writer," said Mr. Davies, referring to Mr. Belloc's statements in his History of England.

"The words of Mr. Hilaire Belloc carry great weight even when he speaks on subjects in which he does not possess first-hand knowledge. In his History of England he refers to the Welsh Church as a 'fossil fragment of Christendom,' and the perversity of 'these Western Christians who refused re-union with Europe and the Papacy at St. Augustine's bidding.'

"Where is the evidence for this?

"The Anglo-Saxon invasion and occupation of the country surrounded the Britons with an iron wall, and made it very hard for them to keep in touch with the Continent, and especially with their brethren in Brittany and Gaul; but, as far as circumstances permitted, they did keep up intercourse with the Continent, and even with Rome.

"Our opponents are quick to seize on any evidence, real or imaginary, in support of their claim that the British Church would have no dealings with Rome, and it is unfortunate that a Catholic writer, however eminent, should make a statement which has no evidence to support it.

"Let us begin with the basis of the whole subject. The word for religion in Welsh is crefydd, 'a monastic order.' History and ideas are written in words and phrases as well as in books and documents, so that the Welsh term for religion proves that the early religion of Wales started not with a kind of Nonconformist missionary, but with a Catholic monk.

"That was exactly the case with the men who made Wales a Christian country and a Catholic community, like St. David, Teilo, Illteed, Dubricius, St. Asaph.

"Go back from the time of St. David, a whole century and more, and what do you find? British Bishops—we would now, of course, call them Welsh—were constantly in attendance with other Catholic Bishops at many of the great Councils of the Early Church. The vitality and orthodoxy of the British Church were highly esteemed and specially mentioned by the great Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

"The anti-Roman attitude of the British Church is a strange doctrine in face of the fact that that stern upholder of Roman orthodoxy, St. Augustine, in spite of the bitter disputes between him and the British Bishops—sullen and suspicious because they looked upon him not as the representative of Rome, but as the agent of the hated Saxons—nevertheless asked them to join him in converting the Anglo-Saxons.

"How much he knew of their much-chequered history we do not know, but we do know that the great Welsh Synod, the first of its kind, held—more than a century before he came—under the presidency of St. David, the Patron Saint, and then Abbot of Menevia, had passed decrees which were ratified by the Holy See."

Mr. Davies went on to say that "probably the most momentous testimony to the Catholicism of Early Wales" was "the great code of jurisprudence called the Laws of Wales, . . . codified and revised by the enlightened Welsh Prince, Howel the Good, who took them to Rome for Papal Ratification."

"Here," declared Mr. Davies, "we have the most unequivocal proof of Welsh Catholicism—the Welsh Laws recognised the Canon Law of the Church, and the

authority of the Pope in the ecclesiastical and religious sphere was fully justified."

Mr. Davies ended a long and interesting speech on an optimistic note.

"Though as yet small in numbers, the Catholic Faith has already returned to Wales; it has pitched its tent and unfurled its banners—ready to work and wait. . . .

"Mr. Lloyd George told Cardinal Gasquet that Wales is still Catholic at heart. What he said is true. Wales is full of the relics and survivals of Catholic ages, and Welsh piety is, in spite of its present uncouth and Puritan appearance, a child of that Ancient Faith which it loved long since and lost awhile."

The Masters of Grotius.—Writers on International Law and historians generally have never rendered adequate justice to the Catholic theologians who formulated the principles which Grotius evolved into his great work, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. It was reserved to a committee of eminent Dutch jurists to pay splendid homage and just tribute to two Spanish theologians, members or religious orders, to whom Grotius himself gave credit for his knowledge of international law. The "Tribute to Grotius" Committee recently visited Spain and paid tribute to the Dominican, Francis de Vitoria, and the Jesuit, Francis Suarez, forerunners and teachers of Grotius, who appear to-day as the veritable founders of international law and who have been shown by the noted French writer, Georges Goyau, to be the originators of the idea of a league of nations.

The Madrid correspondent of the N. C. W. C. service thus describes the visit of the committee to Spain:

> When Holland decided to hold a celebration in honor of Hugo Groot, or Grotius, to commemorate the third centennial of the publication of his masterpiece, "De Jure Belli ac Pacis," is was decided by the committee in charge of the arrangements to associate in this tribute the scholarly religious who had given Grotius the ideas and materials on which he built up his juridical system.
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> A committee was therefore sent to Spain to carry out this part of the program.
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> The members of this committee were Mr. Trenb, former minister of commerce, and Professor Van de Wandere of the University of Leyden. Their first tribute was paid in Granada to the philosopher, Suarez, before whose statue they laid wreaths of flowers and made scholarly addresses. Both Mr. Trenb and Prof. Van de Wandere are eminent Dutch Calvinists, but their addresses contained expressions of admiration and reverence for the Catholic metaphysicist who exercised such a deep influence over the Protestant philosophers of the 16th century and who was called by them the "Pope of the metaphysicists." The Marquis de Cabrera, who is descended from the family of Father Suarez, made a speech thanking the Dutch committee in the name of his family and of the Catholics of Granada.
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> The ceremonies at Madrid and Salamanca were even more impressive, for the Dutch jurists were accompanied by the Spanish minister of state,

Senor Yanguas, and the minister of public instruction, Senor Callejo, and by many professors from the University and scientific academies. Mr. Trenb spoke of the inspiration derived by his committee from the visit to the Spanish universities where the forerunners and masters of Grotius had taught. "Grotius," he said, "would not have been able to write his fundamental works without the writings of his predecessors, and the most important among these were the theologians Vitoria and Suarez." The antecedents of Grotius' famous book, "De Jure Belli ac Paris," are found by Mr. Trenb clearly established by the Jesuit of Granada who also formulated with equal clarity the principle of the interdependence of nations which is the inspiration of the modern League of Nations.

Other Dutch jurists had previously made similar admissions. Speaking in Barcelona, Professor Van Eysinga, of the chair of international law of the University of Leyden, said: "The Spanish theologians provided Grotius with the bases of international law. With the foundation of the League of Nations we have come to the Spanish conception of war." Those who attribute the "Wilson idea" to a Protestant origin have thus been shown to be utterly mistaken for the students of international law have found these principles in the dusty folios in which they were written nearly four centuries ago by the great Catholic jurists of Spain in the 16th century, particularly Father Suarez.

From Madrid the Dutch scholars went to Salamanca where Father Vitoria taught for many years in the university. Vitoria and Suarez were the true founders of the principles on which modern liberties are based. No one has surpassed the great Dominican in his field, and many years will pass before the ideals of justice and international peace outlined by him are fully appreciated. The power and extension of the Spanish Empire in the 16th century, and the discovery and conquest of America created problems of international law which are far from having received a practical solution. Father Vitoria, enamored of peace and justice, and with the holy independence of one who fears God alone, reasoned out the right of peoples to govern themselves and fought with the utmost courage the excesses of the power of the emperor and of the Pope. The legists of his time obstinately affirmed that the newly discovered world belonged to the Pope and to the emperor. Father Vitoria analyzed and discussed from the points of view of theology and law the rights of Charles V and Alexander VI and concluded that the colonization of America as "res nullius" was juridically indefensible.

Monroe, in his historic message in 1823, defended this same principle but with much less vigor than was shown by the Spanish friar. In the congress of Berlin, Mr. Kasson, the American delegate, in speaking against the colonizing ambitions of the European nations, used the very arguments of Father Vitoria, for, according to the Dominican theologian, the native populations constituted veritable states.

Charles V complained in a memorable letter to the prior of the Dominican convent of Salamanca, against "the excessive liberty taken by

the theologian Vitoria in problems of such delicacy affecting the greatness of his empire." But this merely served to encourage the theologian to go deeper into his doctrine and to discuss the value of the Bull of Alexander VI (in which the latter divided America between the Spanish and the Portuguese), outlining the general principles of international law. To him we owe the definitions of just and unjust warfare; in his opinion, above the dogma of national sovereignty there is the objective international law; peoples are not independent but interdependent; strict or absolute sovereignty denies the Catholic doctrine of human solidarity; there are crimes against the rights of peoples, such as the sacrifice of human lives and tyranny. These problems are of the most compelling interest in this present day. It was the theories of Vitoria which Wilson sought to apply in practice and which formed the object of articles 10 to 17 of the League of Nations.

Father Vitoria supported generous principles which post-war Europe has not yet ventured to accept; he showed greater humanity and comprehension than Grotius himself.

According to the Dominican theologian, a ruler may not dispose of territory without the consent of the people; the authority of sovereigns proceeds from the people; kings are but holders of mandates, and tyranny cannot be a foundation of law. Father Vitoria even defended the principle of plebiscites in case of annexation. All these things which seem so modern were taught at the University of Salamanca by a Spanish friar in the 16th century.

Grotius recognized with the utmost loyalty in his works all that he owed to the Spanish theologians, and inspired by the same spirit of gratitude, a group of Protestant Dutchmen has visited Spain to exalt the memory of those who were the masters of their illustrious countryman.

A tablet was placed in the famous convent where the great Dominican lived. The Dutch committee headed the procession which started from the University of Salamanca and passed through the street leading to the convent, the very street through which the modest religious walked on his way to and from the convent and university until the last years of life when, crippled by gout, his students carried him on their shoulders.

We are fortunate to be able to present in an English dress a most valuable contribution on the work of Father Vitoria through the kind offices of Very Rev. Dr. Smith of the Dominican House of Studies, at the Catholic University of America, who supervised the splendid translation of Dr. Pfeiffer's monograph which appears as our leading article.

In a later issue we hope to return to this important subject as the editor of the *Review* will shortly visit Salamanca, the scene of the labors of the distinguished Dominican teacher in whose honor the Grotius committee placed a tablet in the University hall where he had taught so successfully.

The Author of the "Veni, Sancte Spiritus."—Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood, in a recent issue of the *Tablet* (London), says regarding the authorship of "Veni, Sancte Spiritus":

> The four claimants for the authorship of "Veni, Sancte Spiritus"—in reality a *Prose* though generally styled a *Sequence*—are Robert II of France, Hermannus Contractus, Pope Innocent III, and Cardinal Langton. It may be well to examine briefly each claim, and by a process of elimination arrive at the real author, who is, almost certainly, Stephen Langton.
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> (1) Robert II of France was for long regarded as the author of "Veni, Sancte Spiritus." However, his claim merely rests on the authority of Durandus, in his *Rationale* (Book IV), who, in the course of less than a dozen lines, in the section "De prosa seu sequentia," succeeds in conveying, as Rev. James Mearns writes, "a surprising amount of dubious information." Certainly, Durandus is quite wide of the mark in ascribing the "Veni, Sancte Spiritus" to King Robert. Quite fatal to his claim is internal evidence—the verse-form being of the second or more modern period of Sequences—for, as is admitted by hymnologists, the verse-form of the "Golden Sequence" cannot be earlier than 1160—while King Robert died in 1031. Moreover, the French tradition is solidly against this ascription to Robert—and thus his claim may be summarily ruled out. True it is that William of Malmesbury regards King Robert as author of the "Sancte Spiritus adsit," an older Whitsuntide Sequence—but he makes no mention of the "Veni, Sancte Spiritus."
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> (2) Hermannus Contractus, who died in 1054, has been claimed as author of the Sequence, but, alas! his claim is even weaker than that of King Robert II of France. Internal evidence alone would defeat the claim of Herman; but, as a fact, no ancient authority is in his favour. Some writers have quoted Cardinal Bona as favouring such an ascription, but this eminent authority merely says, in his *Rerum Liturgicarum* (Rome, 1671), that the Sequence "has been by some attributed to Hermannus Contractus."
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> (3) Pope Innocent III was regarded by very many eminent authorities as the author of "Veni, Sancte Spiritus," mainly relying on a statement by Ekkehard V of St. Gall about the year 1220, detailing a visit to Rome early in 1216. Ekkehard describes a conversation between Abbot Ulrich of St. Gall and Pope Innocent III, and he tells us that the Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung before the Pope, with the Sequence "Sancte Spiritus adsit nobis gratia" (this Sequence is ascribed to Blessed Notker *balbulus*, and was generally sung at Pentecost till the close of the thirteenth century, when it was gradually displaced by the "Veni, Sancte Spiritus"). He then goes on to say that the Pope himself had composed a Sequence on the Holy Spirit, namely, the "Veni, Sancte Spiritus," and had made many inquiries regarding Blessed Notker *balbulus* (died April 6, 912). All previous writers have taken Ekkehard V seriously, and have more or less acquiesced in his legendary statements. But

thanks to the researches of Dom Rombaut Van Doren, O.S.B., in his interesting book, *Etude sur l'influence musicale de l'abbaye de Saint Gall*, a dissertation presented for his degree as Docteur en Sciences morales et historiques at Louvain University (Louvain, 1925), Ekkehard V is placed in quite a different light. Papebroeck, the Bollandist, in 1675, had already pointed out "gross historical blunders" in Ekkehard's *Vita B. Notkeri*, many of whose statements are designated by Van Doren as des récits ineptes." One conclusion, however, is evident from what Ekkehard writes, namely, that as late as 1216 the Sequence "Veni, Sancte Spiritus" was unknown at St. Gall. It is only fair to add that in the first edition of Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (London, 1892) Rev. James Mearns seemed inclined to admit the ascription of the Sequence to Pope Innocent III; but in the second edition (1907) he left the question as "not yet settled," and describes the Pope as "hardly the person one would like to recognize as the author of this masterpiece," adding: "No further evidence has come to light for or against Stephen Langton." However, as will be seen, fresh evidence has been garnered during the past twenty years, which sets the seal on Langton's claim as author of the Sequence.

(4) Cardinal Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, is the fourth, and rightful claimant. Since the year 1905 the researches of French hymnologists have settled all doubts and have unhesitatingly pronounced Langton as the real author of the Whit Sunday Sequence. As far back as the year 1855, Cardinal J. B. Pitra, in his *Spicilegium Solesmense* (Vol. III), quoted an extract from a commentary on the *Clavis de Hominibus* of Melito of Sardis, written by an *English Cistercian* who flourished about the year 1210, as follows: "Nevertheless, let it suffice to adduce as testimony what Magister Stephanus de Langeton, a man venerable in life and doctrine, by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, says *in the praise of the Holy Spirit, in that excellent Sequence which he composed concerning the Holy Spirit*" (here he quotes the lines commencing: "Consolator optime"). Pitra regards this statement of "a *contemporary* and a *fellow-countryman*" as being of considerable weight. Recent research during the past twenty years has confirmed the statement quoted by Pitra, and now the French hymnologists are at one in recognizing Cardinal Langton as the author. M. Brenet, J. Ecorcheville, and others have found MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, confirming Pitra's statement.

It is well to bear in mind that Stephen Langton had been Archdeacon of Notre Dame and Chancellor of Paris, and was an accomplished musician. He composed his Sequence about the year 1196, certainly before the year 1200, as it is found in a French MS. of *circa* 1199, and also in a Dominican Choirbook of 1254, as well as in the Rheinau MS. 55, *circa* 1250, and in four MSS. at St. Gall. It is also found in the Lincoln Missal (*circa* 1400) and in the Sarum Missal (1498.)

Among recent authorities, M. Amédée Gastoué, in his *Les Primitifs de la Musique Française* (Paris, 1922), writes thus definitely, in his chapter on the School of Notre Dame in the twelfth century, in citing the various musical clerics of Paris: "Above all, we can cite the celebrated Stephen Langton, Archdeacon of Notre Dame and Chancellor . . . who cultivated sacred music. His Prose, so well known, for the feast of Pentecost, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, is written precisely in the new style (that is, the style of *circa* 1200), and cited as such by Aristotle Beda. He it was who commenced one of his most remarkable sermons with the first couplet of a song that the Irish bards loved so much to sound on their harps, the song of *Béle Aelis*, which served him for the theme of a remarkable discourse."

Langton was created Cardinal, under the title of St. Chrysogonous, by Pope Innocent III, on June 22, 1206, and was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury by the Sovereign Pontiff on June 17, 1207, having a strenuous rule of twenty-one years until his death on July 9, 1228. For a good account of his career as Archbishop the reader is referred to Cardinal Gasquet's splendid study: *Henry the Third and the Church* (London, 1905).

"An Historical Query" and the Answer.—Recently Mr. George F. O'Dwyer, of Lowell, Mass., under this caption, in *America*, calls attention to the fact that in 1778 the legislature of Massachusetts petitioned the American Congress to supply a Catholic priest for the Indian tribes of Maine (the Abnaki). Mr. O'Dwyer asked the name of the priest who was sent in response to this petition of Massachusetts.

The question of Mr. O'Dwyer brought a reply from Fr. Lawrence J. Kenny, S.J., of St. Louis University, who says:

The answer may be found in the "Catholic Historical Researches," Vol. XVI, pp. 107-142, or better in Vol. XXV, pp. 193-230. "Rev. Henry de la Motte, an Augustinian, went to them." Father de la Motte, in 1779, sent a letter before him, addressed "To our Dear Children, the Savages, living at Passamaquod," in which he says "The French King . . . sends me to you, my children, in concert with the United States of America." Father de la Motte won commendations for his good work, but he did not remain long in the field. Doubtless Father Juniper Berthiaume, the Recollect, who came in 1780, was has immediate successor. The roster of successors down to to-day makes a glorious list. Father Berthiaume's name, except in Mr. O'Dwyer's letter, will hardly be found in American written history.

America's First Papal Delegate.—The appointment of Monsignor Edward A. Mooney as Apostolic Delegate to the East Indies marks the first time an American ecclesiastic has been made a permanent member of that group of Archbishops who represent the central power of the Church in various parts of the world.

American prelates have reprensented the Holy See on special missions— some of them of great importance—in the past but none has ever before been appointed either a Nuncio or an Apostolic Delegate. Cardinal O'Connell, when he was still an Archbishop, was entrusted with an extraordinary mission from the Pope to the Mikado. The late Archbishop Chapelle of New Orleans, was Apostolic Delegate Extraordinary for Cuba and Porto Rico, after the Spanish-American War. But these were temporary missions. Monsignor Mooney is the first to receive a permanent appointment of this nature.

Apostolic Delegates are the representatives of the Holy See to the Episcopate of limited regions. They differ from the Nunciatures as Nuncios represent the Holy See in dealing with the civil powers, while the Apostolic Delegates represent it with the ecclesiastical authorities.

There are now eighteen Apostolic Delegations divided into three groups of the first, second and third class, as follows:

There are six of the first class depending on the Sacred Consistorial Congregation: United States; Canada; Cuba and Porto Rico; Philippine and Newfoundland; Mexico; Lithuania and the Baltic countries.

There are seven of the second class depending upon the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda: East Indies; Australia; Japan, China, South Africa; Albania; Greece. And five of the third class depending on the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church: Constantinople; Egypt and Arabia; Mesopotamia and Armenia Minor; Persia; Syria.

The most important of these Delegations is that to the United States, which is the only one where the Delegates have always been promoted to the Cardinalate after their term of office at Washington.

The Apostolic Delegation in the East Indies was established in 1884 and had its residence first at Kandy in the Island of Ceylon. This was transferred to Bangalore some years ago, where it now is.

The Apostolic Delegate in the East Indies was Monsignor Agliardi, who afterwards became Nuncio at Vienna, and died Cardinal during the Pontificate of Pius X. He was succeeded by the Polish prelate, Archbishop Zaleski, who remained twenty-four years in that office and then came to Rome. Later he was appointed Patriarch of Antioch, where he died a few months ago.

Monsignor Zaleski was succeeded by Monsignor Fumasoni-Biondi, the present Apostolic Delegate at Washington, who remained there from 1916 to 1920. Then he was sent to establish the Apostolic Delegation in the Philippines. Monsignor Fumasoni-Biondi was succeeded by Monsignor Pietro Pisani, who, however, after three years had to return to Italy on account of his health. The same thing has happened now to Archbishop Lepicier who was sent to India in 1924.

"Orthodoxes".—In view of recent happenings in this country and elsewhere in connection with the question of "Reunion," the following article from the well-known Father de la Taille, S. J. recently published in *Orientalia Christiana* (Vol. V., No. 4) is timely:

Le nom d'Eglise "Orthodoxe" est fréquemment donné à l'Eglise de Constantinople et aux Eglises qui sont en communion avec elle. Cette appellation,

surtout sous la plume ou sur les lévres des théologiens catholiques, surprend parfois le public. De deux Eglises en conflit l'une avec l'autre, si l'une est orthodoxe, l'autre est hétérodoxe; et par conséquent concéder l'orthodoxie à ces communautés séparées, n'est-ce pas nous la dénier à nous-mêmes? Répondra-t-on que la dissidence ne porte pas sur des points de doctrine, mais consiste seulement en une rupture de relations? Cela est insoutenable. La primauté romaine de droit divin est un dogme de foi; et ce dogme est incontestablement rejeté par les Orientaux dissidents. Leur orthodoxie par conséquent, si elle était réelle, nous condamnerait. Nous sommes hétérodoxes, s'ils sont orthodoxes; et inversement. L'appellation d'orthodoxes dans notré bouche ne peut donc étre à leur endroit qu'une courtoisie déplacée, pour ne rien dire de plus.

Cette critique serait fort juste, si le mot "orthodoxe," dans l'usage courant qui en est fait à propose des Eglises en communion avec Byzance, devait s'entendre dans la pléntitude de son acception *étymologique*. Mais en réalité il s'emploie dans unsens *historique*. Historiquement parlant, depuis quinze siècles les communautés qui ont accepté et retenu LA FOI DE CHALCÉDOINE (IX^e^ Concile Œcuménique) sont dites "orthodoxes" PAR OPPOSITION A CELLES QUI L'ONT REJETÉE. L' "orthodoxie" dont il est question est donc, en vertu de cet usage, proprement l'orthodoxie *Chalcédonienne* sur la dualité des natures, divine et humaine, dans l'unique personne du Christ.

Cet usage s'est d'autant plus maintenu, que les trois Conciles Œcuméniques qui suivirent Chalcédoine (les derniers de ceux que Byzance admet en commun avec Rome), deuxième et troisième de Constantinople, deuxième de Nicée, n'ayant en fait donné naissance à aucune scission, à aucun fractionnement nouveau de la Chrétienté, ni Orientale, ni Occidentale, l'adhésion à leurs décrets no put dans l'esprit des Orientaux prendre la valeur d'une marque distinctive, opposant, du point de vue de l'orthodoxie, Eglise à Eglise, et bien entendu, moins que toutes autres l'Eglise de Constantinople à l'Eglise de Rome.

Que si la mise à exécution des décrets du second Concile de Nicée contre les Iconoclastes dans l'impériale cité de Byzance fut célébrée par une solennite que commémore la fête annuelle dite de l'Orthodoxie, il est juste de remarquer que cette "Fête de l'Orthodoxie," en consacrant la rupture de l'impératrice Irène avec le schisme inauguré par Léon l'Isaurien, glorifie du même coup l'heureux événement d'une réunion de Constantinople avec Rome toujours orthodoxie: "la confirmation de l'Orthodoxie" rétablissant, selon le mot du Pape Adrien, "l'unité du troupeau sous un seul pasteur."

Par ailleurs il est notoire que l'orthodoxie Chalcédonienne a presévéré intacte dans l'enseignement officiel de Constantinople, même après la rupture avec Rome. Par suite Constantinople garde son droit à la qualification *historique* d' "orthodoxe." "Orthodoxes" donc les Eglises Byzantines, non pas contre Rome, mais CONTRE les nombreuses et puissantes communautés MONOPHYSITES de l'Orient, principalement contre l'Eglise Copte.

Cette "orthodoxie" leur est commune avec nous. Rome est la tête et le cœur de l'orthodoxie Chalcédonienne. Le concile de Chalcédoine fut prééminemment l'œuvre et le triomphe de saint Léon le Grand, que les Ménées des Grecs appelérent pendant des siècles "le Chef de l'Eglise Orthodoxe."

Les successeurs de ce saint pape "orthodoxe" se sont employés les uns aprés les autres à la défense et à l'illustration de cette sainte "orthodoxie." Lorsque, au septiéme siècle, l' "orthodoxie" Chalcédonienne se trouva menacée par le monothélitisme, qui n'etait qu'un retour offensif déguisé du mononphysisme, le Pape saint Martin I, à l'encontre des Patriarches Serge, Pyrrhus et Paul de Constantinople, tous troise gagnés par l'hérésie, promulga en son Concile du Latran vingt Canons destinés à protéger contre toute atteinte "les pieux, paternels et conciliaires enseigements de *l'Eglise Catholique des Orthodoxes*," c'est-à dire de l'Eglise des "cinq Conciles Œcuméniques"; et sa sentence, contresignée du sang de son martyre, reçut en 681 l'adhésion de toutes les Eglises "Orthodoxes," y compris celle de Constantinople, au Concile Œcuménique (VI°), qui se tint en cette ville même sous la présidence des Légats envoyés par son successeur, saint Agathon.

Les temps modernes nous offrent des exemples analogues de l'emploi du mot "orthodoxe" parmi nous, pour caractériser la foi de l'Eglise. Au Concile de Trente, les acclamations finales des Pères aux décrets qui venaient d'être portés se formulérent ainsi: "C'est la foi du Bienheureux Pierre et des Apôtres; c'est la foi des Pères; c'est la foi des *Orthodoxes*." Tout récemment le Pape Pie X nous faisait prêter à tous le serment de "recevoir sincèrement l'enseignement de la Foi, qui nous est venu des Apôtres par les Pères *Orthodoxes*." Tous au surplus, à la Messe, nous prions chaque matin "pro omnibus *orthodoxis* etque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus," pour tous les orthodoxes qui suivent la foi catholique et apostolique.

Dira-t-on qu'en dehors de l'usage conciliaire ou liturgique, cette appellation d'*orthodoxe* est chez nous tombée en désuétude a l'égard de l'Eglise Catholique, depuis le schisme oriental? Ce serait s'illusionner; et là dessus il vaut la peine de noter en quels termes saint Ignace de Loyola, dans un livre qui a été manié peut-être par plus d'hommes qu'aucun autre en dehors de la Bible et de l'Imitation, dans les "Exercices Spirituels," présente ses règles pour la sauvegarde de l'esprit catholique. Le titre porte: "Quelques règles à observer pour rester dans l'esprit de l'*Eglise Orthodoxe*." Suit immédiatement la première: "Tout jugement propre mis de côté, nous devons être toujours disposés de cœur à l'obéissance envers la vraie Epouse du Christ, notre Sainte Mère qui est *l'Eglise Orthodoxe*, Catholique et Hiérarchique."

Cela étant, il est clair que le nom d' "orthodoxe," s'il suffit dans son acception historique à distinguer les Eglises Byzantines des Eglises non-Chalcédoniennes, ne saurait en aucun sens et d'aucune façon prétendre à les distinguer de nous. Si donc nous continuons—sont la réserve du consentement de l'autorité ecclésiastique, à laquelle il a appartient de juger même des formes de langage, qui peuvent intéresser le bien du troupeau confié à sa garde—, si nous continuons à donner ce nom à des Eglises séparées de Rome, il sera peut-être à propos, comme l'a suggéré le métropolite de l'Ukraine, Mgr Szeptycky, d'introduire, en tant que de besoin, une distinction entre "Orthodoxes dissidents" et "Orthodoxes Catholiques." Le mot "dissident" n'a rien d'offensant, car la dissidence est évidente; elle est avouée, elle est professée par ceux-là mêmes qui reçoivent ce nom ou ce qualificatif.

Quant à la dénomination d' "Orthodoxe Catholique," on voit qu'un saint trés épris d'exactitude théologique l'a laissée tomber comme naturellement de sa plume pour désigner notre Sainte Mère, l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine. Et il est encore plus significatif de beaucoupe de voir un Pape, martyr de l' "Orthodoxie," sceller de son sang la foi qu'il a définie comme celle de "l'Eglise Catholique des Orthodoxes." C'est cette Eglise Catholique des Orthodoxes, cette Eglise Orthodoxe Catholique, qui appelle toutes les Eglises "Orthodoxes" du monde à rentrer dans le sein de l'Unité qu'elle seule possède comme le privilège indéfectible de l'unique véritable Eglise, fondée par Jésus-Christ sur le roc immuable de Pierre et de ses successeurs.

M. DE LA TAILLE S. I.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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